[14 cont.]

2. Circle of Baol (Diourbel)

W
*795
162
S
795
●162

The circle of Baol is at the present time the area par excellence of Muridism, the area where, owing to favorable circumstances, it has developed widely since 1887. It includes today 33,000 persons affiliated with the sect (cf. Appendix No. 5), that is to say, two-fifths of the Moslems [15] and one-fifth of the total population of the circle. The adepts are not distributed evenly throughout the circle. Nearly all of them being of the Ouolof race, they are found especially in the region to the north of the Thiès-Kayes railroad. They also travel in small groups along the railroad. The cantons with the most Murids are those of Guéoul, Thièpe, Diette-Salao, and La.

W
*795

Special note will be made of the centers of 1) Diourbel, 2) Moaké-Darou-Touba, 3) Gaouane, 4) Bambey and environs.

W
793

Diourbel. Of very special interest at the present day as far as the Muridism of Amadou Bamba is concerned, owing to the presence of the Grand Master of the confession in this railroad stop.

The Sérigne -- about 60 years old -- lives in a compound in the same town. His establishment, to this day, is quite curtailed. This state of affairs, which he has prolonged, was evidently a clear indication of his intention to show everyone that his stay there was only temporary.

At the moment things seem to be changing. Since his last promises to the local administration, he has had erected, under the direction of his disciple Ibra Fal, a large and spacious house on a large plot of ground next to the town. He wishes to prove by this gesture, as he has pointed out, that his submission to French authority is unqualified and that his settlement at Diourbel is to be regarded by all as permanent. For the same purpose he has had two of his four wives, who up to now lived at Touba with the rest of his family, come to Diourbel.

Amadou Bamba teaches about 50 pupils at Diourbel itself.

[25 cont.]

W
*795 Penda Lo and his disciples for practicing charlatanism, swindles, breach of trust, and various disturbances have cooled the zealots to a considerable extent. W [793] In this residence at the present time there are said to be six marabouts followed by 40 talibés. Of these six marabouts, two are attached directly to Amadou Bamba, one is connected to him through his brother, Amadou Mbaké, and the others through his lieutenants.

W [793] The number of sérignes and talibés in the circle of Sine-Saloum is 281. Counting three or four women and children per man, one obtains S [795] a total figure of about a thousand persons affiliated with the sect of Amadou Bamba, which would represent 1.3 per cent ●[162] of the Moslems and 0.5 per cent of the total population of the circle.

000 The following are attached:

Appendix No. 7. Circle of Sine-Saloum:

Enumeration by residence and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 8. Circle of Sine-Saloum:

List by residence and canton of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

~~Appendix N~~ Appendix No. 9.

Letter from Amadou Bamba, dated 9 February 1913, disowning the marabout-agitator, Assane Touré.

4. Circle of Thiès

W
*795 The Murid confession, which since 1910 has very sharply drawn to Thiès not only the attention of the local administration, but even that of the European traders in the railroad stops, [26] seems today to be on the wane in this circle.

S
Sr [30 cont.]
795 new "brother" finally succumbs to the influences around him and,
W after entrusting to the sheik his immortal interests, finally places
*795 into his hands the direction of his material life as well. This is the first breach made by Islam in the fetishistic block.

Let us hasten to add that it is very small because, as has already been mentioned, of the two residences of Thiès established in Sérère territory, one, that of the Petite Côte, has only a handful of Murids, while the other, that of Fissel, contains a strong Murid group only in the canton of Diobas. [31] This group consists almost entirely of a vanguard of Ouolof immigrants from Baol. There are only 200 Muridized Sérère, among whom there is but one important personnage.

W
*795 The total number of Murids in the circle[1] seems to be 5,080,
S which represents one-fifth of the number of Moslems and one-
●162 seventeenth of the total population of the circle.
795

000 The following are attached:

Appendix No. 10. Circle of Thiès:
Genealogy of the Fal family (Sheik Ibra Fal).

Appendix No. 11. Circle of Thiès:
Enumeration by residence and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 12. Circle of Thiès:
List by residence of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

5. Circle of Cayor (Tivaouane)

W
*795 The circle of Cayor (Tivaouane) constitutes, along with Baol (Diourbel) and the canton of Diobas (Thiès, Residence of Fissel), the center par excellence of the Muridism of Amadou Bamba.

At the present time, the circle is very nearly Islamized in its entirety. This Islamization was effected some 50 years ago

[1] [i.e., circle of Thies --Analyst]

W [31 cont.]
*795 through the preachings of marabouts who came from Toucouleur territory via Diambour. These persons, whose names still live
-W [793] in the memories of scholars, [32] are: Mokhtar Doumbé, teacher of Momar Antasali (the latter being the father and teacher of Amadou Bamba);

Mamaka Kane, from his village of Sine Lèye Kane, and Semb Cor, from Tivaouane, spread Islam in Saniakhor;

Aboulaye Si, apostle of the Mboul.

It was especially the influence of Ma Ba, elimane of Saloum, that was decisive, however. His fiery preaching and his calls to holy war drew many natives to him. The triumph was complete on the day when the damel Lat Dior sought the support of Islam for the sake of his cause. His conversion was followed by that of his subjects, whom he commanded, like all Black rulers, to embrace his religion.

W [798] At the present day the circle is divided between Tidiania and Qadria, and the adepts of these two Moslem religious orders regard each other more as mutual heretics than as co-religionists belonging to two orthodox brotherhoods.

W 793 The Tidiania are subject to Si El-Hadj Malik, a marabout well disposed towards our influence.

The Qadria, in small numbers, are attached to Sheik Sidia (brotherhood of the Qadria-Lessidia), to Sheik Saad Bouh (brotherhood of Qadria-Fadelia), to a very influential local marabout, Sheik Bou Kounta, who resides at Keur Bou Kounta, six kilometers from Tivaouane, but in major part especially to the Qadri Muridism of Amadou Bamba.

* W 795 S 795 ●[162] The circle of Cayor seems to merit special attention as far as Islam is concerned, first of all, because of the number of Moslems, 134,000 out of 140,000 inhabitants, or 27/28ths of the total population, but especially because of the budding efflorescence of Muridisms which await only a favorable occasion in order to develop to the same extent as that of Amadou Bamba, and also because of the nature of the religious sentiments of these newly
W [668] Islamized people. It [33] would seem that in this Cayor area, which was the center of the stubborn resistance of the Ouolof race

[33 cont.]

*W 795 668 to our domination, the natives became converted to Islam merely in order to find a basis for passive resistance, on different grounds. S 795 The most loyal among them, the Tidiania of El-Hadj Mali or the Qadria of Sheik Bou Kounta, remain neutral; the indomitable ones hasten to join the Muridism of Amadou Bamba, because this religious leader, friend and marabout of the former damels and obviously aspiring to succeed them, has been set up as a kind of representative of the sentiment for the former independence.

S 795 *W 795 The approaching loss of Sheik Bou Kounta will raise the problem of spiritual succession and a declassing of members. It would be well to watch this brotherhood from now on and to have a very clear political course. It seemingly would not be advantageous if the Qadria Murids of Bou Kounta, upon his death, were to augment the number of the Qadria Murids of Amadou Bamba.

S ●[162] The number of the Bamba Murids in the circle[1] is about 28,000 out of 134,000 Moslems and 140,000 inhabitants, which represents one-fifth of the total population, and obviously one-fifth of the Islamized population.

*W 795 793 Province of Saniakhor. The principal Murid villages are: Maummou, near Piré; Ngouï and Médina in the canton of Mbar. Médina is under the spiritual leadership of an aged and influential marabout: Mabèye Bèye. This sheik, the son of a sérigne who was formerly influential himself, Ibra Bèye, and of a Lebbou mother, joined the Bamba brotherhood some six years ago. He had formerly met Amadou Bamba in the entourage of Lat Dior and Semba Laobé, where he was a marabout. He is a rich farmer who has brought together 200 or 300 disciples and followers in the Mekhé area. A friend of Ibra Fal, he maintains close relations with this sheik.

[34] Keur Momar Ovarka, the village of the sérigne Momar Ouarka Khan. The latter gathers about 60 talibés around him, half of whom follow his Koranic teachings.

[1] [i.e., Circle of Cayor -- Analyst]

[36 cont.]

6. Circle of Louga

W *795 S 795 ● [162] The circle of Louga is now completely Islamized. Four peoples, Ouolof, Peul, Toucouleur, and Moors, share its territory. Each of these peoples, in conformity with sociological laws, understands the doctrine and prescriptions of the Prophet according to the peculiar spirit of its race, and adapts them to its traditional institutions, but all claim to be Moslems in the religious realm.

Up to the end of 1911, the circle, or more specifically the province of Diolof, was an ardent seat of Muridism. The reason for this, however, was factitious. It was simply the presence of Amadou Bamba at Thiéène which provoked this unusual unrest.

When the Master left (January 1912), the disciples followed him. No more pilgrims were seen, and it can be stated that the influence acquired over the local populations was practically W [793] null. Today in the entire circle one could hardly point out 300 Murid sérignes and talibés, who represent a thousand persons affiliated with the brotherhood of Amadou Bamba. If it is noted S [162] that the circle contains 106,000 inhabitants, or [37] 106,000 Moslems (cf. Appendix No. 15), it will be seen that the proportion of the Murids is 1/106 of the Moslem and total population of the circle.

W 793 Only a few of the marabouts merit special mention in each of the five provinces which comprise the circle.

Province of Diolof. The province of Diolof is headed by a remarkably intelligent and energetic chief, Bouna N'diaye, who understands perfectly how to obtain the allegiance of all his subjects, no matter what their Islamic confession may be. The most important sérigne in this province is Khali N'diaye of W [871] Ouolof origin, who has a hundred talibés-workers at N'diayène and dispenses Koranic teaching to a dozen students.

Province of North Diambour [Diambour septentrional]. North Diambour is no longer of much interest. There are about

W [38 cont.]

793 brother is a source of worry to Amadou Bamba, who nevertheless shows him great partiality and gives him large sums of money, which are soon spent. This Murid of fancy, however, this Sheik Thioro, is still not content. He puts on airs, flirts with the businessmen and traders of Senegal, and offers his services to the administration. All this bustling in a vacuum is quite harmless, for no one takes Sheik Thioro seriously.

W
*795 Provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais. As one draws away from the Murid crescent which borders the Ferlo on the west, southwest, and south, [39] Amadou Bamba's influence vanishes. Thus, the provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais are almost free of it. There is said to be a total of 80 sérignes and talibés in these two provinces, which represents a maximum of 250 persons under the spiritual authority of Amadou Bamba. No personality merits special mention.

W
[793]

000 The appendices attached are:

Appendix No. 15. Circle of Louga:
Enumeration by province of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 16. Circle of Louga:
List by province of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

7. Dakar and Saint-Louis

W
*795
369
S
795
369
[62]
[66]

For the sake of completeness, the small number of Murids living in Dakar and Saint-Louis should be pointed out. There are about 140 in Dakar and 130 in Saint-Louis.

These Murids are not even inhabitants of the city, but immigrants from Baol, Cayor, and Diambour; Dakar, indeed, is too

W [40 cont.]

793 The sheiks and sérignes who have some influence were given in special listings by circles. (Cf. Appendices No. 6, 8, 12, 14, 16.)

W
*795 To summarize, the number of persons affiliated [41] with the order of Amadou Bamba may be set at 68,350. (Cf. Appendix No. 2: General enumeration of the Murids by circle.)
S
•162

If one deducts from this number the wives, children, and old people who are Murids because the head of the family is Murid, there remain some 10,000 adepts, mature men who are voluntarily attached to the Sérigne or to his lieutenants.

W
[871] As for the number of students of all ages who are actually receiving some sort of instruction, it does not seem to exceed a thousand.

W
*795 The Murids, except for some who, as has been said, are gathered in Dakar and Saint-Louis, are concentrated in a zone of habitation that is shaped like a crescent. (Cf. Appendix No. 1: Geographic schema of the Murid confession of Amadou Bamba.) This Murid crescent follows the Ferlo on the west and south, with its lower point in East Saloum, and its thickest part formed by the circles of Cayor (Tivaouane) and Baol (Diourbel) and a fraction of the circle of Thiès. The inner curve follows the line of demarcation between the steppes of the Ferlo and the cultivated areas; the outer curve follows roughly the Dakar -- Saint-Louis and Thiès-Kayes railroads and overlaps only slightly to the west and south of these lines.

In conclusion it should be added that this word Murids, as used to designate the talibés of Amadou Bamba, is not liked very much by the Sérigne. He himself likes to call them the "Bakīīn," meaning both the people of M'baké (his zaouīa) and the disciples of M'baki (himself). In French we would say "Bakïïtes."

1: Marty--124 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/144/

S
W
795
S
•162

Appendix No. 2

General enumeration by circles of all the Murids of Amadou Bamba.

Circle of Baol	33,000
Circle of Sine Saloum	1,000
Circle of Thiès	5,080
Circle of Cayor	28,000
Circle of Louga	1,000
Dakar	140
Saint-Louis	150
Total	68[illegible]50

W
601
793

Appendix No. 3

Genealogy of the M'baké family.

			Mohammed.
			Amadou Bousso.
		Momar Diara.	Sheik Abd El-Qader
			Mohammed Lamine.
	Diara Bousso.		Mohammed Mostafa.
			Mohammed Fadel.
		Amadou Bamba.	Mohammed Lamine.
			Mohammed Bachir.
	Momar.	Ibra Fati	Ibrahim.
Mballa.	Fatia Diop		Mohammed El-Habib.
			Mohammed Mostafa.
Mbaké.	Antasali.	Sheik Anta.	Ibrahim.
			Sérigne.
	Anta N'Diaye.	Amadou Mbaké.	
		Niang.	Amadou.
		Sheik Tioro.	Mohammed.
	Thioro Diop.	Mballa Mbaké	Mohammed.
		[redacted]	
	Hafsa Diahhaté.	Sheik Hafsa.	Fati Benta (daughter)
	Issa Dièye.	Masemba.	Mohammed.
	Ibra Mbaké.	Amor M'baké.	

/145/

W
601
793

Appendix No. 4

Genealogy of the Bousso Family.

Sérigne Moham-med Bousso.
- M'baké Bousso (Wife: Kadia, half sister of Amadou Bamba).
  - Amadou.
  - Alioune.
- (Wife: Sheik El-Hadj Bousso Rokiata, full sister of Amadou Bamba.)
  - Momar Bousso.
  - Bou Baker.

S
162
795
W
795

Appendix No. 5

Circle of Baol (Diourbel.)

Enumeration by cantons of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Names or cantons	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Number of Total Population	Races that Inhabit the Canton
Diack	785		15,980	Sérère.
Fandène	1,513		11,117	Ouolof
Guéoul	9,528		16,441	--
Dondolle	378		13,492	Sérère
Pègue	1,768		12,918	Ouolof
Thiépe	4,097		14,929	---
Ndadène	861		9,551	Sérère
Kontor	809		3,438	Peul
Diette Salao	6,142		12,185	Ouolof
Ngoye	760		13,507	Sérère
La	5,645		16,221	Ouolof and Peul
Mbayar-Bidiar	633		26,051	Sérère
Total	32,919	86,000	161,830	

S
162
795
W
795

/148/

Appendix No. 7
Circle of Sine-Saloum
Enumeration by residences and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

		Murids		Islamized	Total population
		Sérignes[1]	Talibes[2]		
Residence of Saloum. Cantons of:	Kaolack Laghem	4	36		
	Kahone	4	9		
	Nguer	1	4		
	Diokoul Goudiaye	5	5		
	Total	14	54	18,193	42,668
Residence of Sine Cantons of:	Diakhao	2	18		
	Dioine	6	0		
	Diouroup Djilas	0	0		
	Songhaï	0	0		
	Maroutte	11	91		
	Gayokèime	2	11		
	Total	21	120	12,697	86,616
		0	0		
Residence of Lower Saloum	Nimbato				
	Djilor	0	0		
	Total			15,419	19,508
Residence of Rip	Oualo-Kayemor	2	0		
	Saback-Rip	1	5		
	Niom-Rip	2	16		
	Total	5	21	19,301	20,850

[1] [i.e., one followed by disciples--Analyst]

[2] [i.e., disciples--Analyst]

/148 cont./

S
162
795
W
795

(Appendix No. 7 cont.)

		Murids		Islami-lized	Total population
		Sérignes	Talibés		
Residence of East Saloum	Ndoukoumane-Pakalla	4	18		
	Koungheul	2	22		
	Total	6	40	10,742	13,284
	General Total	281		76,352	182,926

/149/

S
W
793

Appendix No. 8

Circle of Sine-Saloum

List by residences and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés.[1]

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Residence of Saloum (Kaolack).				
Canton of Kaolack-Laghem.				
Tamsir Moussa Paté	Ouolof.	Pakatia.	Amadou Bamba.	11
Omar Diouf	"	Mbadiou.	Tamsir Moussa.	
Babakar N'Diaye	"	Mbouma.	Amadou Bamba.	4
Massakho Sakho	"	Tahoua.	Ibra Fati.	21
Canton of Kahone.				
Amadou Cissé.	"	Bill.	Amadou Fadiame.	7

[1] [i.e. disciples --Analyst]

S
162
195
W
195

/153/

Appendix No. 11

Circle of Thiès

Enumeration by residences and cantons of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Residences and Cantons	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Total of the General Population	Observations
Residence of Thiès:				
Canton of Thiès	490	3,120	5,400	K. Ibra Fal.
" of Thor-Diander.	10	5,230	10,030	Darou.
Residence of the Sérère provinces:				
Canton of M'Badane Sadsal	30	540	12,120	Sassal.
Canton of Sandoc Diaganiao	"	920	8,540	
Canton of Sao Dimack	"	410	9,260	
Canton of the Diebas	4,300	5,580	13,850	Khaban Tassette.
Residence of the Petite Côte				
Canton of Nianing	50	4,410	7,200	Thiombologe.
Canton of Joal-N'Gohé	200	2,200	5,350	Thiadiaye.
		3,900	11,300	
Totals	5,080	26,400	83,050	

/154 cont./

S
W
793

(Appendix No. 12 cont.)

Names	Origins	Residences	Number of Talibés	Observations
Manik Diop.	Ouolof.	Malamsone.		
Momar Touré.	"	Tassette.	20	at Touré.
Abdou N'Doye.	"	"	20	at N'Doyène.
Sheik Madiop.	"	"	30	at Keur Madiop.
Sérigne Momar Senne	"	Pout.	10	
Laman Malik.	Sérère.	Pognom.		newly converted.
Residence of the Petite Côte (Nianing).				
Alioune Sal.	Ouolof.	Guélor.	50	imprisoned in 1910 for disturbances.

/155/

S
162
[795]
W
[795]

Appendix No. 13
Circle of Cayor

Enumeration by provinces of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Provinces	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Total Population
Saniakhor.	6,000		
Mbakhol-Mboul.	10,000		
Guet.	12,000		
Total	28,000	133,400	139,150

Note. - The circle of Cayor contains 5,750 inhabitants who are not Islamized.

This number is made up of: about 5,000 Sérère, scattered in the cantons of N'Doute and M'Bar in the province of Saniakhor; 500 Laobé, scattered in the province of Guet; 200 Akou, in the railroad stops; and 50 Mandiago, distributed throughout the circle.

/160/

S
•162
795
W
795

Appendix No. 15
Circle of Louga
Enumeration of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Provinces	Total Number of Murids	Moslems	General Total	Observations
Djolof.	300	36,895	36,895	
North Diambour	300	32,800	32,800	
South Diambour	150	14,678	14,678	
N'Guick Merina	150	14,582	14,582	
Gandiolais.	100	7,073	7,073	
	1,000	106,028	106,028	

/161/

S
W
793

Appendix No. 16
Circle of Louga
List by provinces of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residence, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés.

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of Diolof:				
Abdou Kamara.	Ouolof.	Kamara.	Amadou Bamba	2
Alioun M'Baye.	"	Nboundiane.	"	2
Modo Sankhe.	"	Tiankhé.	"	2
Khali N'Diaye.	"	N'Diayène.	"	110
Diadé N'Dao.	"	Iagne Sagata.	"	8
Baba Fati M'Baye.	"	Mbatène.	"	6
Alle Khari.	"	"	"	5

/23 cont./
793 way to a frank and full collaboration between the representatives
*795 of authority and the Murid leaders of all ranks.

*795 The effective and efficient discipline which prevails in the
brotherhood permits exercising over those under its jurisdiction
631 a kind of indirect administration, always easier to achieve than
793 direct administration. This formula was used especially from
1940 to 1946 when it was a question of producing the utmost
quantities of groundnuts. This collaboration between the Murid
marabouts and the Governors did away with many reticences
and prejudices and had the result of increasing the prestige and
influence of the former, not only within the brotherhood, but
also in all of Senegal.

793 Today this collaboration perhaps has a few more nuances,
*795 but it remains important. Relations between the heads of ad-
652 ministrative divisions and the Murid marabouts are always very
631 polite and very close; the marabouts receive sizable economic
and financial aid from the Administration. The Sociétés de
[654] Prévoyance /Welfare Societies/ advance them large tonnages of
groundnut seed. Then again, short-term and long-term agri-
cultural credits are granted to them, either for putting into good
condition each of the agricultural fields (wintering credits) or
to allow them to modernize or mechanize their cultivation;
finally, administrative subsidies are also given for the constru-
tion of the Mosque of Touba. On the other hand, the marabouts
preach to their talibés respect for established authority /24/ and
call upon them to do their duty vis-à-vis Administration, notably
in whatever concerns the payment of taxes and the reimburse-
ments for the seed to the Sociétés de Prévoyance.

*795 The Murids thus have an important place in the life of
● 162 Senegal. Their number is estimated at 400,000, which repre-
sents a quarter of the Islamized population of the territory.
One quarter of the brotherhood is established in the circle of
Diourbel and two other quarters are distributed in the regions
adjacent to the circles of Kaolack, Thiés, Louga, and Linguère,
that is to say, the Murids have remained closely grouped around
[793] their land of origin, Baol. They live there for the most part in

/24 cont./

* 795 farming villages (dara) which the marabouts have established
793 in the bush, sometimes at the expense of non-Murid native
[162] villages. The tonnages of groundnuts which they produce there can bring their marabout more than a million CFA francs a year, provided that each one has about a hundred talibés (which is not out of the ordinary) to work for him. If one remembers that the talibés who do not work directly for the marabout pay him a tithe from their salaries and their income, one can easily realize the financial facilities which a Murid religious leader can enjoy.

The faithful do not object at all to thus feeding the treasury of their Sérigne ... on the contary!

Here is a little anecdote which will prove that even the poorest do it readily and willingly:

One day, a "Great Marabout" crossing Diourbel in his Chrysler stopped in an avenue of the city to greet the subdivision head whom he had just passed and to exchange a few words with him. Just beside them, at the foot of a mango tree on the edge of the avenue, an old woman was settled, selling fruit on a wretched basket. As soon as the "commander" had left, this old woman approached the car, whose occupant she had recognized, and at the same time as she paid her respects to him gave him the money that she had with her, perhaps all of her meager receipts for the morning.

This explains why it is that the representatives of the marabouts who go from city to city collecting from the disciples who do not till the soil for the benefit of their patrons never come back empty-handed, and that the Murid officials would never go to the Magal without bringing to their marabouts substantial gifts, in money or in kind, to allow them to organize the receptions they give on this occasion in their Touba residences.

As a consequence of this, one will not be surprised at the lavishness of the way of life that at least some, if not all, of the Murid "Great Marabouts" can lead. They live in /25/ modern, in truth luxurious establishments, a permanent house,

Serer FA32
Fulani MS11

S
SR
369
438
[234]
[233]
[465]

/380 cont. /
to the shepherd as compensation for services rendered. Although lactation is very poor (one to two liters per day per head), this sale practiced in the city at a relatively high price (30 francs per liter) is a source of not inconsiderable profit.

F
[233]
[465]

The Sérère, despite the poor food resources he commands, practices for the benefit of Europeans the raising of pigs in the narrow and miry enclosures formed by stakes driven deeply into the ground and close together.

SR
[231]
[417]
S
[361]

The mode of settlement and the economy of these suburban villages, although they have not had profound modifications, nevertheless are in the process of continual reorganization and adaptation.

These very modest contributions of the urban economy thin out very rapidly as one goes farther from the city. Karamoko and Keur-Mamour, located six and seven kilometers from the escale, and even Diakhaté, which is nearer, give the appearance of wholly rural villages. The women who each morning leave in Indian file /381/ to sell their products in the city make up the single element that enters into the circuit of the new economy offered to them.

S
121
369

Has the social and economic organization, on the other hand, been more profoundly modified? An examination of the ethnic and functional composition of the groups of the villages will permit an understanding of the data on this problem.

For this study we have grouped the villages under three rubrics:

1. The assemblage of Tiali, Thiès-None, and Sapko; near the escale, but having undergone perturbations in their economy by the loss of part of their land.

2. Keur-Mamour and Karamoko form the group farthest from the city.

3. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara are the two villages near the escale which have not suffered any loss of territory.

S
SR
369
162

The first assemblage musters a total population of 405

S SR 369 [162] /381 cont. / inhabitants. These three villages are located less than two kilometers from the first urban quarters, consequently a favorable location for the daily departure of workers for the escale.

S SR 369 162 [563] The ethnic composition of these agglomerations, despite the urban proximity (favorable for the mixing of peoples), has remained homogeneous. At Sapko there is no foreign element; at Tiali two Wolof and one Sérère-Sine were working there temporarily at the time of the time of the inquiry; by contrast, nearly a tenth of the population of Thiès-None is made up of individuals belonging to non-Sérère ethnic groups (Wolof, Toucouleur, Peul). S SR [771] A parallel must be drawn between this quite relative heterogeneity and the almost total Islamization of the locality. Nearly four-fifths of the population of Thiès-None has embraced this religion; Sapko and Tiali, by contrast, remain essentially Catholic or fetishistic, the Moslems living there generally being transient elements.

S SR 582 794 [563] A kind of self-defense by the Catholic group that lives in a region largely Islamized seems to be one of the primary reasons for this ethnic integrity. Under the influence of the fathers, who possess, it seems, a profound authority over every Christian agglomeration, marriages occur from None village to None village and between Catholics (1).

S SR [777] 1. The woman seems to be the element through which the transition from the Catholic religion to the Moslem religion occurs. The young Christian who marries a Moslem no longer practices and quickly abjures her first religion; her children and the whole line will become Islamized under the paternal influence.

S SR 162 369 /382/ An examination of the male and economically active population of these three agglomerations gives the result that 38% of its elements have remained essentially

S SR 162 369 /382 cont./ agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide their activity between the city and the country, depending on the season and the labor market.

S SR 241 Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet S SR 241 369 427 or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S SR 162 463 An examination of the occupation of temporary or permanent workers shows an important number of laborers, 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S SR 162 191 [871] In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest: only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred go to the nearby French school. These results may appear deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

S SR [412] 1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

/382 cont./

S An examination of the suburban villages farthest from
162 Thiès will give even lower figures.

S
162 Karamoko, located seven kilometers from the city, musters 106 inhabitants. Its ethnic composition is clearly
563 different from that of the above None villages. Very great heterogeneity prevails there; it is made up of 30% Bambara, 30% Wassoulonké, and 25% Peul-Toucouleur. The Bambara and Wassoulonké form the ethnic base of the village, of which they were the creators. The other elements through the play of marriages have superimposed themselves on these groups.

W /383/ Keur-Mamour, by contrast, has remained Wolof;
[563] only a few Peul shepherds have infiltrated into the village.

S The distance from the urban center has considerably
162 reduced the relations with Thiès. They have both remained
369 rural: less than [illegible]% of the economically active male popula-
463 tion have non-agricultural work; more than 60% have remained wholly faithful to the land.

S
W At Keur-Mamour, although some elements were formerly
369 employed in the escale itself, at the time of the inquiry only
463 one-tenth were employed as laborers at the Péchiney phosphate
317 quarries located in the vicinity of their village. (We have here an indirect effect of the urban presence: the opening of extra-urban yards offering extra-rural work to the neighboring villages.) As a consequence no worker was employed in the city itself.

S Karamoko and Keur-Mamour thus present limited charac-
369 teristics of the urban suburbs.

Keur-Issa-Bambara and Diakhaté, located in the vicinity of the escale (about one kilometer from the first outskirts), would have to form the type proper of the suburb.

S The ethnic composition is essentially Wolof at Diakhaté,
369 composite at Keur-Issa-Bambara. In this latter agglomeration
563 the Bambara, the Peul, and the Toucouleur respectively ac-
162 count for 30% in the composition of the group. The remainder
W is made up of Wassoulonké, Wolof, Malinké, and Sarakolé.
[563] Consequently the heterogeneity seems to be greater there than

/383 cont./

369 563 162 at Karamoko. This leads to the supposition that there is great instability on the part of the families who, coming from the Sudan, for example, momentarily settle in the village before being integrated into the urban population of Thiès.

An examination of the table below[1] will permit a comparison of the structure of the four non-None villages (the None villages are homogeneous, as we have seen above).

/384/ In the predominately rural villages, the number 369 563 162 166 of individuals born in the village almost balances the number of those born outside: Karamoko, 34 as against 35; Keur-Mamour, 28 as against 22. It should be emphasized that at Keur-Mamour most of the men were born in the village itself, 21 as against 3, but by contrast most of the women are of outside origin, 19 as against 7. At Karamoko, on the other hand, an equal number of men and women leave their village of birth to settle elsewhere.

In the predominately urban agglomerations, the individuals who come from the outside are clearly in the majority. At Diakhaté, 31 are natives of the village as against 48 from the outside. At Keur-Issa-Bambara, only 23 are natives of the village as against 51 from the outside. Let us note that the number of men and the number of women born outside of the village are nearly identical: 22 men as against 29 women at Keur-Issa-Bambara, 23 as against 25 at Diakhaté.

These comparative figures emphasize a greater ethnic mixture in the villages whose economy is marked by the presence of the city.

The villages of Sudanese origin in particular require com-

563 162 166 plementary data concerning the place of origin of the emigration. To what extent do these villages maintain relations with their country of origin? Does the emigration movement toward Senegal, primed at the end of the last century, continue with as much strength in our day?

An examination of the place of birth of individuals belonging to the over-40 age group (early emigration) and the individuals not having reached this age (recent emigration) will illuminate

[1] [see cat 116, p18 – ANALYST]

Persons Over 15 Years of Age	Karamoko = 106 persons (Bambara)			K. I. Bambara = 116 persons (Bambara)			K. Mamour = 86 persons (Wolof)			Diakhaté = 121 persons (Wolof)		
	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total
Born in the village	15	19	34	18	5	23	21	7	28	18	13	31
Born outside of the village	16	19	35	22	29	51	3	19	22	23	25	48

/383/
S
W
162
166
3: Savonnet--18 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/384 cont./

S 563 162 166

this problem.

At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

S 162 463 369

An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

W [162] [463] [369]

At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès, 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the None villages, 27%).

S [498]

The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter.

W [463]

S 162 [191] [871]

Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

S 369

After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth
[166] one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[241] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

/389 cont./

162
463

11.6%	in the primary sector,	
	of whom: agriculturalists	10.9%
44.5%	in the secondary sector,	
	of whom: unskilled workers	0.7%
	skilled workers in construction	10%
	skilled modern workers	14.6%
	staffs and supervisors	1.1%
41.9%	in the tertiary sector,	
	of whom: domestics	2.7%
	commerce, transport and repair	11.4%
	sweepers, orderlies, porters	1.6%
	unskilled office employees	3.3%
	skilled office employees	1.8%
	highly skilled office employees and administrative staffs	1.1%
	public force	16.4% (1)

[113]

1. This information is taken from the publication drawn up by the Service de la statistique générale du Haut Commissariat de l'A.O.F., "Commune mixte de Thiès.

/389 cont./

●162 Recensement 1953 /The mixed
463 commune of Thiès. 1953 Census/."
[143] Dakar, 1954. We have only converted
into percentages the figures given on
pp. 25 ff. of this pamphlet.

121
114 By its very diversity, this population thus constitutes an excellent field of study and experiment for the sociologist and the economist.

A socio-demographic inquiry by questionnaire was made previously, in November and December 1953. The sample chosen contained 900 heads of families questioned (2). We wished to complete it partially by studying some family budgets in a very limited number, 46, three of which proved to be useless.

114 Under no pretext should any general value be given to the results that are going to be presented. The trends shown will have to be confirmed by other, more extensive inquiries, in conformity with the resolution adopted in 1926 by the Third Conference of the Statisticiens du travail, which specified: "it is better to give up certain details which the inquiry might reveal than to reduce the number of families studied."

/390/ We have almost systematically taken a course opposite to this recommendation, because the information now available on the daily life of the Africans in the cities of Senegal (and in French West Africa in its totality) is still too insufficient for one to be able to undertake broader inquiries. On the other hand, and this was a major obstacle, we did not have at our disposal sufficient means to study a larger number of families. This has saved us from the temptation of looking too far; daily African life is at this point complex, particularly in its economic aspect, so that in certain respects the work accomplished and the documents

2. The results of this inquiry, which was supervised by Dr. Massé, will be published in the next issue of this Bulletin.

/392 cont./

125 463 *511 From the standpoint of occupational distribution:

5 cultivators,
8 laborers (one specialist),
3 orderlies,
3 "unskilled" office employees,
2 "skilled office employees,
1 "highly skilled" office employee,
6 "unskilled" workers,
4 "skilled" workers,
2 workers having functions of authority,
1 police sergeant,
4 artisans,
1 truck-gardener,
1 private accountant,
1 teacher,
1 African doctor.

125 ●162 *511 /393/ From the standpoint of ethnic group (1):

1. According to the census of 1953, the distribution of the population of Thiès by principal ethnic groups is as follows:

Wolof	65.5%	Peul	3%
Toucouleur	9.3%	Sarakolé	1.8%
Bambara	6.8%	Moors	2.4%
Sérère	5.1%	Others	6.1%

26 Wolof,
4 Bambara,
3 Sarakolé,
3 Peul,
3 Toucouleur /Tukolor/,
2 Sérère /Serer/,
2 Moors.

121 only black African territory where there was a sizeable
563 French community. In Dakar alone the French numbered
● [160] 6,600 in 1931, 17,300 in 1948 and increased to nearly
30,000 in recent years. It is interesting to examine how the
colons on the spot reacted to the acceptance of Africans as
[369] equals in law and political rights and finally how far
assimilation, by providing a new common culture, was able
to break down traditional indigenous inter-ethnic hostilities.

175 small island of Gorée further down the coast. However this did not mean that the French lacked interest in the interior. From 1749-53 Michel Adanson explored the Senegalese coast and undertook the first really scientific description of West Africa. His writings were largely responsible for the later hope that European colonisation of this part of Africa would be possible. But for the rest of the eighteenth century France's hold on St. Louis was too tenuous for anything of this nature to be undertaken. Indeed during the Seven Years' War the town fell to the British and was only returned
175 in 1779. By the end of the eighteenth century St. Louis
563 with a population of 7,000, had a European colony numbering 600, the largest on the whole of the West Coast. It also
369 had an important assimilated mulatto community, whose
[162] descendants are known today as St. Louisiens. Indeed there had been a very high degree of *métissage* by the end of the eighteenth century, since most Frenchmen there took permanent African mistresses known as *signares*, and ensured the education of any children they had by them. Indeed in all but legal status these *signares* were wives and their 'marriages' were celebrated by their families with all the pomp of a normal wedding. However, with the improvement of communications between Senegal and France and the arrival of larger numbers of soldiers in the middle of the nineteenth century, mistresses were much more temporary in nature and the number of Frenchmen prepared to educate resulting offspring was considerably reduced.

175 In 1789 St. Louis sent its *cahier* of grievances to the States-
567 General on the eve of the French Revolution, demanding the end of the monopoly of the great companies, freedom of trade and the abolition of slavery, which had hitherto formed
[439] the main item of export from St. Louis. These grievances were heeded. Slavery was abolished and the companies had their charters withdrawn. But the position of slaves and slave-trading in the colonies was not in fact settled until the end of the wars that followed the French Revolution.

175
648 During these wars St. Louis once again fell to the British

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

9,000,000 most of whom were illiterate. Balzac, in 1845, wrote in his book *Les paysans*: 648

> For twenty million beings in France the law is merely a piece of white paper stuck on the door of the Church or the Town Hall . . . Many mayors of cantons turn their copies of the *Bulletin des Lois* into bags for holding raisins and seeds. As for the mere mayors of communes you would be shocked by the number who cannot read or write and by the way in which the civil registers are kept.

Most remarkable of the innovations of the short lived French Second Republic of 1848-52, in which the Revolution once more came into its own, was the granting of the right to Senegal of sending a deputy to the National Assembly in France. Grandly it was announced, 'The Colonies purified of slavery . . . will be represented in the National Assembly'. Effectively, such a deputy would be [162]
representing an overwhelming majority of African 'citizens' [563]
for metropolitan Frenchmen numbered then only some 500. [666]
However it was to take some time before the African citizens were to use this newly acquired right to elect one of their own number to the Assembly.

The 1848 Revolution thus embroidered on the 1833 ordinance of the French monarchy by introducing a full scale assimilationist policy for the colonies of France. In Senegal it affected only a small number of people. And never again would France in her expansion through Africa apply this trend in her colonial policy so liberally to her newly acquired territories. Thereafter there was to be a tussle with those administrators who either felt that the inhabitants of the colonial territories were different and should be treated as such, or were overwhelmed by the practical problems involved in applying an assimilationist policy to a largely illiterate population spread over an area eight times the size of France.

The reaction to the liberal thinking of the second republic soon came with Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* by which an authoritarian Second Empire was established. In 1854 the right of electing a deputy was withdrawn from all

648 colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion
and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct
decree of the Emperor.

[167] It was under the Second Empire that the first great period
of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It
was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal
what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African
conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in
French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an
authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing
reforms and innovations that conformed with the most
liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

[643] Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854.
369 At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his
[162] *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with
[563] only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run
[872] by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had
[797] succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly
[361] of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant
Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and
an army barracks.

648 From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of
643 brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of
Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader,
El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West
African empire. To do this he organised the now famous
Tirailleurs Sénégalais, since Europeans did not stand up well
to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by
treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of
643 Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient
military administration, and even published an official
[804] newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe
was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the
equality of races, and did much to increase the educational
[871] facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons
[797] of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to
attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

648 that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

648 By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabitants
641 of whom only some 15,000, living in the original
[161] French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were
[162] French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase
[563] noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges
granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were partic-
[167] ularly harsh. They were not allowed to leave the colony,
[466] they had no right of meeting or association, and they
[653] were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the main-
[631] tenance of roads. To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the
[646] political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VII. THE FRENCH IN SENEGAL

000 The less intelligent the white man, the more stupid the black man seems to him.

André Gide

563 369 The first thing that strikes the casual visitor to Dakar is the large number of Europeans and the apparent absence of any colour problem. Senegal in fact has an exceptionally good record of race relations, especially when one considers that the proportion of Europeans to Africans is much higher than in many countries with acute racial problems. The French in Senegal today probably [162] number some 40,000 of which nearly 30,000 live in Dakar alone. In comparison with other territories of French speaking Africa, Senegal has always had a large European minority, and this has increased rapidly since the war. Thus in Senegal the policy of assimilation was not applied in the abstract by the metropolitan Government to a people who, with the exception of administrative officials, had practically no daily contact with Frenchmen. In the major towns the Senegalese have been used to the presence of a substantial French community for well over seventy years. But, as we shall see, it was one thing for the metropolitan Government to initiate a policy of assimilation and quite another to expect its citizens to apply it on a personal level in their relations with the people who were being assimilated.

Though the French community in Senegal is relatively [162] large and in Dakar constitutes at least a tenth of the population, it must not be confused in character with the settler communities of Kenya and Rhodesia.

563 The great majority of Frenchmen have no intention of remaining in Senegal after their retirement. On independence few Frenchman opted for Senegalese nationality

563 for which no trained African staff is available. There is a
369 wide range of professional occupations, but private enter-
[463] prise by individuals is largely restricted to higher-class
shopkeeping and the running of bars and restaurants.
Most of the export and import trade is still in the hands of
[439] the large commercial houses controlled from France as
distinct from individual Frenchmen in Dakar.

Relations between the African and European communities have been remarkably good. There have been no really significant racial conflicts in Dakar since the war. But relations are *negatively* good. That is to say that there is almost no contact between the two groups outside work. The French in Dakar, despite the official assimilationist policy of the mother country, have shown little inclination to extend it on a personal plane during their sojourn in Dakar. On the other hand when they were officially representatives of the colonial Power they rarely attempted to enforce discrimination against Africans. Apart from the time of the unfortunate Vichy episode there has never been any open discrimination in Dakar. Africans always had legal access to all places the French had, though inevitably there were a number of private associations such as the *Amicales des Provinces Françaises* which excluded Africans by definition though never by statute. A visitor might be tempted to think that the absence of Africans from the French-style cafés in the main streets of Dakar indicated some subtle form of discrimination, but in fact any African entering would be served, and the sparseness of African clientele is determined by economic and social reasons. Drinks are enormously expensive in such bistros, and few
[162] Muslims, who form the majority of the population in Dakar,
[779] care to be seen drinking in public. Nevertheless it is true
that proprietors of certain bars do their best to maintain a
white clientele.

There is a certain residential separation, once more largely determined by economics. The expensive European

463 fact a family concern where it is considered more economical 563 to employ the daughter of the family in menial work than a Senegalese. To counter this the Senegalese Government has studiously avoided any open declaration on the undesirability of this situation, but by a series of discriminatory [651] taxes hopes to make the position of the marginal *petit blanc* untenable. In this way it is hoped that European employment will be reduced by half within the next four years. Thus whilst the European population of Senegal was given [162] as 46,500 in 1956, about 40,000 in 1960, the Government hopes to have it reduced to about 30,000 by 1965.

[655] One of the ways in which the Government is attempting to overcome the twin problem of European domination of [471] commerce and the lack of private indigenous capital, is the establishment of state trading companies and co-operatives to compete in the marketing of ground-nuts and other basic Senegalese products. Also in order to reduce Senegal's dependence on expatriate technicians and minor [874] functionaries it is expanding technical education and spending considerable sums on the training of Africans overseas. In the initial stages this will only remove those Europeans who were doing jobs that can easily be taken over by Senegalese once they have received basic training. There is no reason to suppose that the European Community will diminish by much more than the numbers cited above envisaged by the planners, since the anticipated expansion of the Senegalese economy under the four-year plan should be able to absorb the marginal cases who might otherwise have been forced to return to France. Nor indeed is it the intention of the Senegalese to get rid of the Europeans for the sake of getting rid of them, since the Government still maintains that the two groups can co-exist to their mutual benefit but that it must prevent the seeds of racial tension from germinating.

563 There is of course amongst the young and particularly [208] among students some difference of opinion over this matter. Not all of them hold such liberal views, particularly

those who have been influenced by the barrage of anti-colonial and especially anti-French propaganda that has been current in Africa during the last two years. Many young men declare that the best thing they can do is to get rid of the French since the economy is being strangled or alternatively dominated by their former colonial masters. But this does not reflect a deep-seated dislike for France as such, indeed the opposite is nearer the case. The young man who is demanding the expulsion of the French in a heated moment today, may well be packing his bag to go and find work in France tomorrow. Once again, this division is removed when one suggests that the young Senegalese may be against the French as such in Dakar, but this does not imply that he is against either individual Frenchmen—he may well count a number amongst his personal friends—or against France and what France stands for from the point of view of culture and civilisation. Like all those who have led the anti-assimilationist campaign since the war, he is also aware of the dominating role French culture still plays in his daily life. And the wish to remove the French from Dakar may be considered an attempt to compensate for a psychological domination he resents rather than as a reaction against the French community for anything they may have done. 563 [208] 648 563

The real danger will come if the younger generation becomes economically frustrated by the French community, a situation which could lead to real racial tension. And it is this again that the Senegalese Government in its present planning intends to avert. The Senegalese leaders at present in power believe that it is their role to show how various racial groups can live together in harmony. Here it is essential to remember that Senegal has three other substantial racial minorities, the Cape Verdians, Lebanese, and Mauretanians of Arab stock, but they are not important for the purposes of this study which is primarily concerned with the effects of assimilation on the indigenous Senegalese. 563 [162]

VIII. THE SENEGALESE

> 563 The case of the one and only Senegalese is interesting. There you have a man no longer designated by his tribe, but by his colony. We are not told what tribe in Senegal he belongs to, Serer, Wolof or Lebu. That he comes from the Colony of Senegal is enough to give him some sort of status, and for native policy to know whom it is dealing with. He is not a *déraciné* from a small isolated Africa; in Bobo *cercle* he is son of the mother colony of all the colonies of the Federation. He is settled in Bobo as he might elsewhere, as a man of the new African world that has got beyond race, where natives of all races give life to the colonial structure and break it open from within.
>
> ROBERT DELAVIGNETTE: *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*

[369] [292] IF the first thing that strikes the visitor to Dakar is the large number of Europeans, the second is the homogeneous character of Senegalese society itself. It is not possible, as it is in Lagos or Leopoldville, to tell from a glance at a man or a woman's clothes from which ethnic group he or she comes. Senegal not only has an excellent record of race relations between Europeans and Africans but between the various indigenous ethnic groups. This happy position is typified by the President of the Republic, Léopold Sédar Senghor, who comes neither from the majority tribe nor the dominant religion of the country, but is a Serer and Catholic. Furthermore he is married to a French woman.

563 162 Senegal has six major ethnic groups accounting for all but 130,000 of its population of 3,100,000. The last census figures gave the Wolof as the largest ethnic group with 35 per cent, followed by the Fula with 17 per cent, the Serer, 16 per cent, Toucouleur, 9 per cent, Diola, 9 per cent, and the Mandingo 7 per cent.

[p 76]

of inter-ethnic marriages in the towns is indicative of a S 369
major social change and a reflection of the effects of an 563
assimilationist policy on the Senegalese. [582]

Though many communities in Dakar are based on ethnic
and family ties, particularly amongst the immigrant
Toucouleurs from the Vallée du Fleuve, Dakar is on the S
whole a heterogeneous city. Mercier has observed that [589
inter-ethnic habitation is particularly frequent among young
bachelors, who often club together to hire a room. This is 591]
still relatively rare in Africa except amongst educated
élites. But in Senegal many young men resent being asked S
the question whether they are Wolof or Serer, answering [619]
only to the name Senegalese. As far as friendship outside
the ethnic group and in particular living with someone
from another tribe is concerned, one great advantage is S
the existence of a common cuisine for Wolof, Serer, Tou- [262]
couleur and Lebou. There is even a national dish known as W
riz sénégalais, known further down the coast as Jollof rice. [262]
This means that not only can friends share the same plate,
but a man is not frustrated in his desire to marry outside his
ethnic group by fear of a foreign cuisine. S

Another important factor in the breakdown of tribal 369
barriers has been the urbanisation of Senegal. Over 25 per [619
cent of the population live in towns, the bulk in Dakar, 162]
Rufisque and St. Louis and Kaolack. This represents a
higher rate of urbanisation than in any other West African
territory except the Western Region of Nigeria, where, it
must be pointed out, urbanisation was intense long before
the arrival of the Europeans and therefore does not owe its
origin to colonisation as it does in Senegal. It is difficult in
the present stage of research to measure the results of the S
inter-mixing of races in urban agglomerations. But in an [563]
environment whose *raison d'être* is completely different from
that of the tribal village, the individual is subjected to so
many pressures that his ethnic individuality has to be extremely
strong for him not to assimilate both ideas and
customs from his neighbours and above all from the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S
369
563
French. The Moors are an obvious exception to this, as P. Dubié has pointed out. Though they work in all the major towns of Senegal they have retained complete identity of tribal customs, even maintaining abroad the traditional hostilities between their own tribal subdivisions. The tribal structure of Dakar, which is the most heavily industrialised single city in West Africa, gives an idea of the common melting pot that the new cities and towns in Senegal represent: Wolof constitute 25 per cent; Lebou, the original inhabitants, 15 per cent; mixed Wolof-Lebou, 11 per cent; Serer, 3 per cent; Bambara, 9 per cent; Toucouleur, 10 per cent; Fula, 5 per cent; Moors, 4 per cent; Diola, 5 per cent; Soussou, 2 per cent; Cape Verdians 2 per cent. The result is that the inhabitants of Dakar are forced to learn some form of *lingua franca*, in this case Wolof or French, if they are to live in the city.

W [369]
S [162]
S [197]

In the modern economy of the city, where one seeks work where work is and where housing is short and expensive, it is difficult for any of these groups to keep up any pretence at tribal solidarity. However, as Schapera has shown, it is possible for the African migrant working in industry 'to maintain two quite distinct spheres of human relations. The African who leaves his tribe to go and work in the town will take part in the social organisations, e.g. trade unions, he finds there, but these will affect him only as a factory worker, and will have no place in the subsistence economy which is governed by traditional tribal and social relationships. The two spheres are distinct spatially as wellas socially, and despite the exchange of ideas between them they remain none the less parallel.'

In Dakar this is particularly true of the immigrant Toucouleur from the Vallée du Fleuve, as A. Diop shows in his excellent study of Toucouleur immigration to Dakar. But it should be noted here that the Toucouleur are not permanent emigrants from their areas, and have only come to Dakar temporarily to supplement the low incomes of the Vallée du Fleuve. Permanent settlers without the ultimate

S [164]

renominated, the Wolofs created a *Bloc Démocratique du Djollof* which polled 6,000 votes to the 8,000 of the Fula candidate. S 563 S W [665] [666]

A further commentary on the lack of tribalism in Senegal is the ethnic structure of the Government and the national assembly. The Government is composed of the President of the Republic, who is a Serer, a President of the Council of Ministers who is Toucouleur with strong Wolof ancestry, and fourteen Ministers of whom nine are Wolof, two are half-caste, one a Frenchman who has opted for Senegalese nationality, one a Diola and one a Lebou. S [645]

The ethnic repartition of the Senegalese National Assembly is equally revealing*: S 563 646 [162]

Tribe	*Percentage of population*	*Number of Deputies*	*Percentage of Deputies*
Wolof	35·0	33	41
Serer	16·0	5	6
Lebou	0·2	10	13
Toucouleur	9·0	10	13
Fula	17·0	5	6
Diola	9·0	5	6
Mandingo/Bambara	7·0	3	4
European	0·1	3	4
Metis	0·1	5	6
Rest	4·7	1	1

The above figures, with the reservations footnoted, show that the National Assembly with one or two exceptions S [127]

---

* These figures were supplied to me by William J. Foltz and are based on his own research and ethnic data from the *S.E.R.E.S.A. Rapport General* 1ère partie, Ch. 1., p. 38. The population figures are based on old administrative censuses, which may be somewhat conservative. The figures for the Lebou seem surprisingly low. Furthermore, placing deputies under a particular ethnic grouping is often an arbitrary process, since it is in the educated classes that the highest rate of inter-ethnic marriage occurs. Furthermore the large number of Wolofs can partly be explained by the fact that anyone of mixed ethnic origin, in which one parent is Wolof, tends to call himself Wolof.

563 646 is excellently balanced from a tribal point of view. The large number of Lebou deputies is accounted for by the fact that the Lebou were the original inhabitants of Dakar, and therefore had greater facilities for education than other groups. The relatively small number of Serer deputies can be explained by the fact that the distinction between Wolof and Serer is not very pronounced. Again, the small number of Fula deputies in proportion to their size as an ethnic group is partly the result of the fact that they are a nomadic people, and partly because they are very close to the Toucouleur who have a relatively high representation. The only grossly under-represented group are the Mande, for though the Mandingo-Bambara peoples make up 7 per cent of the population and have 4 per cent of the deputies, only one of the three deputies in this group is actually Mande, who make up the greater part of this 7 per cent. Both in Senegal and neighbouring Gambia the Mandingo seem to have fared badly as a group in politics. [162] [771] Though only 5 per cent of Senegal is Christian, five members of the Government and nearly a fifth of the National Assembly are Christian. Nor does one have to be a member of the majority tribe in a constituency to be elected by it*.

563 [771] A source of possible conflict in Senegal is the existence of a large Muslim majority and a small Christian minority representing only 5 per cent of the population. The French as the colonial power, despite their policy of assimilation, were unable to establish a strong Catholic Church in Senegal since Islam had been with the Toucouleur since the eleventh century and had already embraced most of the country by the time Faidherbe extended his protectorate. Islam in Senegal is peculiarly tolerant, not only in its concessions to traditional beliefs among more recently converted groups, but also towards Christians. In few other predominantly Muslim countries would it be possible not only to have a Catholic President but to have such a

---

* I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Foltz for supplying me with most of the data on which this paragraph is based.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 them strict enough Muslims, the main distinguishing
[433] feature of their homeland, the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal,
[735] is its poverty compared with that of other parts of Senegal.
Diop Abdoulaye in his study of Toucouleur immigration
into Dakar estimates that the average *per capita* income of a
Toucouleur of that region is little more than 4,000 *C.F.A.*
[434] per annum, i.e. about £6 a year. It is this rather than any
real tribal differences that makes the Vallée a special
problem, and this as much as any ethnic factor accounted
[665] for the existence of the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.*

The only real minority area in the Senegal is the Casa-
563 mance, whose special position is further emphasised by its
619 separation from the main block of Senegal by the Gambia.
In the past it has been thought of as geographically,
economically, socially and even religiously separate from
the rest of Senegal. A forest zone closer to its neighbours
Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Guinea, it re-
mained very underdeveloped by the French, though
the present Government is taking this fact into account
with a special development programme for the area.
This separateness was emphasised by the very name Casa-
mance. The people describe themselves to this day as
Casamançais rather than Senegalese, though this could well
be accepted on the same terms as a Briton describing
himself as Scots or Welsh. It is fortunate that the tendency
is to talk in terms of regional rather than tribal origin.
However one of the important factors in the Casamance
has been tribal. The Diolas were until very recently an
animist people with an entirely different social organis-
ation from that of the main groups of Senegal, though as
we have already pointed out they had traditional ties with
the Serer which went as far as the injunction that a Diola
should never spill the blood of a Serer. But today the Diola
are being drawn into the main socio-religious pattern of
Senegal. In the most recent estimate of the religious
[162] adherence of the population of Casamance, estimated at
[771] 327,500, 284,000 were Muslims, only 28,000 Christians and

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively 563
Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who 619
have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The [162]
Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo [771]
and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.'

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of 563
the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the 665
Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the 666
opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal.* However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors.

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which 565
both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof,
Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of [582]
endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus:

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers) [463]
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in [567]
Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.)

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble
to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior [582]

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

571
178
[554]
[631]
[793]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

[433]
[369]
[162]
[467]

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

[871]
571
178
871

---

[1] Their functions are hereditary.
[2] Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
[3] In this case, groundnuts.
[4] The economic role of the Mouride brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
[5] The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 5,000 Lebanese.
[6] The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

[793]
[369]
[162]
[563]

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

178 571 The reason is not to be sought solely in the increase in numbers of this intellectual elite though that was quite substantial. Trained in Europe and remaining in touch with the world outside, it was the first section of the population to become consciously aware of the 'colonial situation',[1] and it immediately made an attempt to build up ideological systems which soon acquired crucial influence. Next, the changed pattern in the relations between Europeans and Africans speeded up the development of situations in which conflicts became inevitable, and encouraged the maintenance of close contact between the new and the colonial elites. I shall revert to this point later. True, tension existed, [578] especially between generations, the older strata of the colonial elite having sometimes to defend the positions they had won.[2] But the younger people tended to identify themselves with the new elite, to accept its guidance and to share, more or less confusedly, in the same awakening to the colonial situation. Thus, the intellectual elite, in the broadest sense of the term, embarked in a new direction, and the political consequences of this change are now beginning to be seen. The problem of relations with the workers' elite which has emerged in the past few years is more complex; I shall come back to it in connexion with trade union activity.

In the typical pre-war situation, the African elite had little chance of competing with the European managing class, which was much less numerous that it is now.[3] It was trained to be what might be called an auxiliary elite. The new elite, on the contrary—notwithstanding the administrative and economic expansion of the past 10 years—will inevitably find itself in competition with Europeans in the managing and supervisory grades in an ever growing number of specific cases. Though still few in numbers, it has difficulty in finding a place in the territory's administrative and technological machine. It is a paradox that in a country immensely in need of responsible personnel, both managers and technicians, demand seems somewhat to exceed supply. [464] In French West Africa, and particularly in Senegal, the government officially recognizes the existence of an 'employment problem for holders of diplomas'. One of the causes of this situation is no doubt the total absence of planning in the training of elites.[4] But the real explanation must be found in political circumstances and race relations.[5] The effort to 'Africanize' the upper grades encounters firm resistance, and so the rise of the elites is apparently seriously checked by the growing number of situations in which Africans and Europeans compete and which the two groups explain in diametrically opposite ways.[6] It is a significant fact that several Senegalese who have completed their studies in France have remained there, because they would be unable to find jobs for which they could apply at home. The problem is obviously even more ● [162] acute in the private sector than in the administration.[7] Also, the European [563] population has considerably increased in the past 10 years:[8] it has more than doubled in Senegal, tripled at Dakar—where it now represents about 10 per cent of the population.

---

[113] [1] Cf. the studies of G. Balandier, and in particular: *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique Noire* (Present sociology of Negro Africa), Paris, 1955.

[2] Especially in the administration.

[113] [3] Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar: Orientations d'une Enquête' (The European group at Dakar: Suggested line for a survey), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XIX, 1955.

[4] An effort is now being made in this direction.

[5] Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar . . .', op. cit.

[6] Patterns of thought based on the pre-war situation play a fundamental role here.

[7] Where the trend, as yet timid, towards 'Africanization' of the upper grades can be discerned.

[8] A general phenomenon in French West Africa which involves important changes in relations between Africans and Europeans.

369 275 all the accoutrements of a Montmartre bistro, together with a large, bad painting of the Sacré Coeur above the bar. Drinks were served by a tall barmaid, with long flaxen hair and make-up applied so that she looked like a German-doll: The clientele was mainly composed of soldiers from the barracks by the sea-front, but at our table sat two elegant Jollof girls, both very drunk. [548] They made it fairly clear they were prostitutes and it was not long before a policeman came to arrest the more intoxicated of the two. She spat, screamed furiously and struggled to break away. Just as she was about to enter the car, she demanded: 'Let me finish my drink.' She was allowed to return to her table, where she drank her beer slowly, eyeing us all as if we were vermin. Then just as slowly, with the comic dignity that comes so naturally to a drunk, she swept to her feet, stood with her henna'd hands on her hips, spat with incredible accuracy at the feet of a nearby soldier and shouted in a voice ringing with anger, and looking at us with contempt: 'Salauds.'

Then an African sergeant came in, asked for a drink, which [563] the flaxen doll served him. She served African and European alike. I found this hard to believe after the Gambia, where no white woman could serve drinks behind a bar to Europeans, let alone to Africans.

369 563 Next morning, I was even more surprised when Arnold took me into a large department store and pointed to the counter-girls. Seventy-five per cent of them were white. Outside a Frenchwoman was selling vegetables at a small stall. Of course, in this respect Dakar is exceptional for West Africa. It is the only city [162] with a large population of Colons. Over 25,000 Europeans live there. They came from every walk of life and have more affinity with the Colons of Algeria than anything else one can cite on the Coast. You can walk into the most ramshackle bar and yet be served by a Parisienne. You will find poor whites living in the Médina, as the African quarter is known. Each year, 'Les Girls' from a Paris night club do a season at the *Bodega*. The N'Gor Hotel and the 'Croix du Sud' are as fine as you will find in France. Dakar's Colons have re-created Paris in Africa. Most of them have never ventured out of the city, and if they had to go into 'the bush' they would probably prepare for it as though they were Mungo Park setting out to discover the Niger.

369 Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from
[571] St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the
[873] first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first
Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French
Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

369 To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with
175 its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like
Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most
illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after
the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth
century. However, in the following century it began to expand
into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable
[563] to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to
form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth
[591] and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the
[554] Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like
Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

[162] By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than
7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen
[633] from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of
good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833
[641] all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French
citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West
Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed
Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The
[361] ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large
bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the
[491] mainland is named after him. The city's most important and
famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

[162] By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants,
and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther
down the coast, there was little to worry about the
future.

648 we plan to build a modern port; and there in the Soudan we hope to develop livestock for export. For that we would need a number of large refrigeration units here in Dakar.'

Thus he continued in detail all over the vast area of French West Africa stretching from St. Louis to the Chad, from the Sahara to the Guinea Coast, with an area of nearly 1,840,000 square miles, and a meagre population of 18 millions. I pointed to Nigeria and Ghana.

'I am afraid we British took the best bits of West Africa. Yet we haven't put nearly as much money into it by comparison. I wonder what Nigeria would be like if you French had got it?'

His eyes looked longingly at the large chunk of red.

471 'That would be something marvellous!' he said. Since the war the French have poured money into West Africa. Private funds have accounted for a lot, but FIDES, the equivalent of our Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, has contributed more than £175,000,000 to these territories, and together with other public funds the total of capital investment (not from private sources) is more than £300,000,000, for a large, but poor and underpopulated territory.

369 This heavy capital investment has created large cities like Dakar, Abidjan and Conakry. The Africans have come into contact not only with urban life, but with industry. In Dakar there has been a minor industrial revolution. In the past six years, largely because of this, the city's population has swollen to nearly 300,000. Africans have flooded into the city seeking work, [162] attracted by tales of its gay life or lured by its glamour and the prospect of easy money.

274
463 I went down to the large brewery in Dakar, to see a modern industry with Africans as employees.

One of the managers there replied to my question, why weren't there any Africans in senior positions in the brewery. 'We have great difficulty in finding Africans to fill our managerial vacancies. You see, though many go to Paris they nearly all want to become lawyers, doctors, and officials. Very few are interested in becoming technicians. We would pay for their studies if we could find suitable candidates—you know, all part of the *Loi Cadre*. We must Africanize!'

'But haven't you found any good enough?'

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE CITIES OF SENEGAL

369
361
In all of West Africa, the phenomenon of urbanization has been most extensive and the variety of its forms most striking in Senegal. The area has about ten com-
●[162] munities with more than 10,000 inhabitants each; five of these have well over 30,000 inhabitants and the major urban center, Dakar, has almost 250,000 inhabitants. The urban population exceeds 500,000, about one quarter of the total population. The present urban pattern has no link with a pre-European tradition. Some of the cities wield influence over extensive suburban zones, and the distances separating them are relatively short, so that the western half of Senegal is covered by a close network of urban centers.

633 Partial administration of municipal affairs and familiarity with electoral machinery are by no means recent acquisitions. The first African communes "with full powers"[11] were created in Senegal, in the second half of the 19th century, and there the first "mixed communes"[12] were developed, at the beginning of the 20th century. Among all the French West African territories, Senegal contained the largest number of constituted communes, and alone had almost a quarter of the communes with full powers created in all French Overseas Territories by the law of 1956. As early as 1925 there were 18 communes, of which four had full autonomy. The exercise of political rights in modern form dates back more than 75 years for some cities, and by 1953 there were elected municipal councils in 14 of the 20 mixed communes in Senegal.

[P. 6 B]

"The Four Communes of Senegal"

369 633 175 The four coastal cities have had the longest experience with political rights. All are fairly old; Dakar was founded most recently, in 1857. St. Louis of Senegal, founded in the time of the slave-trade, is the oldest, and a typical example of the "old colonial city." In 1659 a warehouse of the Company of the Senegal was built on the site, the first French settlement in the region. It was a commercial post oriented toward the river, and a small military outpost; it became the jumping-off place for the conquest of the African territories. The general traits of the old African city may still be found in St. Louis' central section, despite recent changes. In such a center the African population was relatively stable.[13] A few European families established [563] residence, and a rather important mixed-blood population developed. By the mid-19th century an urban community with a homogeneous way of life had emerged.

The Isle of Gorée, which became the second commune in Senegal, was occupied in 1677; it was oriented toward the Petite-Cote and the factories of Rufisque, Joal, and Portudal. Of these, only Rufisque developed; it became the third commune. St. Louis and Gorée underwent many vicissitudes before 1815, when they were restored to France. They then returned to "legal" commerce, which was centered in the valley of the Senegal. St. Louis retained its dominance. By the end of the 18th century it had had nearly [162] 7,000 inhabitants, about half of whom [563] were free and almost a tenth European. In the 1870's its population was about 15,000, while Gorée had but 3,000; Rufisque was growing as was Dakar. Finally, the interior back of the Petite-Cote was opening up, and Thiès was founded. In the following period St.

[P. 7A]

369 Louis stagnated[14] and Gorée declined,
633 losing people at the expense of Dakar and
175 Rufisque; Rufisque grew rapidly, as the
port for the ground-nut. Dakar entered
[162] a period of prosperity at the turn of the
[439] century.[15] During the late 19th century
the composition of the population already
was beginning to change fairly rapidly,
especially in the expanding centers, but
the old core of urban population continued
to hold a dominant place, not
only in urban life but also in the colony
of Senegal as a whole, whose constitution
had come into effect. The people of
St. Louis most notably served as essential
instruments of the colonization effort.

This dominance was expressed very
clearly in the political realm. The coastal
cities, in contrast to the interior cities
and rural areas, had been introduced to
the structure and organization through
which modern political life is conducted
long before the reforms of 1946. Political
activity of the modern type was first
limited to the European settlers but was
[563] soon extended to the mixed-blood element
and then to the Negro population. Beginning
in the late 18th century, St. Louis
had a mayor, always a mixed-blood, who
served as intermediary between the governor
and the populace. In 1789 the
[668] colony participated in metropolitan political
activities, sending to the States-General
a petition of grievances that demanded
commercial freedom — *i.e.*,
abolition of the Company monopoly —
and the end of slavery. A satisfactory
agreement was reached among employees
of the Company, European businessmen,
and mixed-blood businessmen, but it was
never brought to fruition; a period of
disorder set in and persisted until the
rebirth of the colony in 1815.

In 1833 French citizenship was conferred
[641] upon all free inhabitants of St.
Louis and Gorée by royal decree. Citizenship
was extended to all inhabitants of

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[13] We have observed that in such cases a "people belonging to the city" emerged. Their ties with their birthplaces were more or less completely severed.

[14] It had scarcely 20,000 inhabitants in 1920, but its growth resumed in the 1930's. In 1954 it had a population of 39,000.

[15] With the creation of a harbor, which captured the trade of Rufisque, whose modernization appeared impossible, and the installation of the government-general of French West Africa, established in 1895.

[P.7C]

175
369
633
[169]

369 the two cities with the abolition of
633 slavery in 1848.[16] The four coastal cities
175 were elevated to the status of communes
[641] with full powers between 1872 and 1887,
and the organization of political life on
a European pattern in the four communes
crystalized the opposition between
the citizens of the old settlements and
the subjects of the territories in the
newly conquered interior. The cities
alone provided apprenticeship in public
life and in the representative system.
Beginning in 1871 they elected a deputy
to the French Parliament. In 1879 they
[646] elected a Council-general patterned after
those in France, supposedly to represent
all Senegal. It actually represented only
the few urban centers, whose interests at
the time diverged widely from those of
the rest of Senegal. An effort was subsequently
made to repair this breach by
transforming the Council-general into a
colonial council, consisting of representatives
elected by the citizens and representatives
for the non-citizens appointed
by the *notables*.[17] This reduced conflicts
scarcely at all. Meanwhile, citizenship
[641] acquired new importance. At first it was
established by local law and had no effect
in other French territories. Not until
1916 did the "natives of the four communes"
receive full French citizenship
while still being able to retain their personal
status. These citizens were few in
[162] number: scarcely 80,000 in 1939, about
100,000 in the 1950's. The cities tended
to include more non-citizens than citizens
as they grew. Actual participation
in politics developed only gradually. At
[666] the first legislative elections, in 1871,
only a third of those registered voted,
and the rate dropped to less than a fifth

369 in some years. Since the beginning of the
633 20th century, however, urban citizens
175 have taken an increasingly lively interest
[666] in political matters.[18]

In this restricted political system the
relative importance of the roles played by
563 different ethnic groupings and different
668 cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance,
first held by the old European
families, passed gradually to mixed-blood
society, which came into being in the
18th century and rapidly acquired wealth,
education, and influence. By the mid-19th
century mixed-bloods made up the
majority of the westernized population.
But the entry of the emancipated slaves,
the first sizable migration toward the
[166] cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods
to a minority. In 1900 they numbered
● [162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together,
though for several decades their
economic and political influence remained
quite disproportionate to their numbers.
668 Among the cities, St. Louis was
[369] predominant until WW I. At the beginning
of the century it practically controlled
the deputation to the French
legislature and the Council-general —
and hence the economic life of the territory.
Then Gorée-Dakar came to the
fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise
Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by
Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men
were the first elected Senegalese to win
[645] broad support at Paris; Diagne himself
was appointed a Secretary of State [a
subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S.
Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the authority
[642] of elected officials — deputies and
Councillors-general — increased, and
clashes with the civil administration were
frequent.[20]

[P. 8 B]

[30] But it could remain attached more or less firmly to the political activities of the place of its origin.

[31] It included elements from St. Louis and Gorée, Lebou elements that had become urbanized "on the spot," etc. The population of Dakar tripled 1936-1956, from 80,000 to nearly 250,000.

[32] To be precise, 52,250. These elections are used as an example because the new organization for the city government involved a revision of the electoral lists, the most extensive in many years; and, also, a comparison with recent census figures (compiled in 1955) was possible for the first time.

[33] The facts of the split between the latent ideological content of judgments and opinions of a political sort, and that of the party programs, are noted below. Of course, there were probably distinctions according to level of schooling.

[34] Roughly, between old and new city-dwellers.

/667 cont./

125 such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].
[143] In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did
[565] not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he be-
longed. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the
[124] village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in
the street, "Who are you ?" he replies, "I am of such and such a
caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous
study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has
shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome
demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted
with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the cus-
tom.

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000
inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors,
Toucouleur [Tukulor], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof
(Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such charac-
teristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness,
[186] the name given them by other groups, and language, except for
[199] the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language,
Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five
[361] port cities and 800 villages and communities.

[162] The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 per-
sons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

/667 cont./

563 term Toucouleur often erroneously designates all the inhabitants of the Fouta Toro; we shall use it here in the way the Toucouleur speak of themselves, namely, Halpoularen (speaking the language of the Peul), distinct from the Wolof, who have their own [197] language, and from the Saracolé, who speak a Mandé dialect.

/668/ Downstream the boundary between the Wolof and the Toucouleur is not clearly defined and several Wolof villages have been established in the very heart of Toucouleur country and [186] have preserved their ethnic individuality. They are regarded as foreigners. It is the same upriver on the part of the Saracolé.

The Peul live in the midst of the three groups mentioned [175] above, and the Peul ethnic group in the valley of the Senegal is itself composed of several waves /nappes/ which have successively spread throughout the region. The oldest are also the most sedentary and the most Islamized (Foulbé walo) and have a way of life very much like that of the Toucouleur, with whom they sometimes intermarry. The others, who have come more re- [221] cently (Foulbé Diéri), are seminomads and only in winter cultivate the sands of the hills which border the valley (Diéri). There [162] is a total of 47,000 Peul in this region, but we do not know the [613] actual number of each wave, itself divided into relatively [175] endogamous lineages /lignages/ or pseudo-lineages. The latter, designated by the administration as communities, served as census units for the Peul, while for the others this unit was the village. The location of these communities often changes because of the seminomadic character of the Peul way of life, which is devoted principally to livestock-raising.

[162] Among the 56,000 Moors, although some of them (6,000) are settled in the river ports, the majority merely meet on the Mauritainian shore and only part of the year; they camp there [221] during the dry season in order to cultivate the alluvial soil (walo), and they return after the harvest to camps sometimes located several dozen kilometers from there. These farmers for the most part are Haratin of the black race, that is to say, ancient serfs of the Moors, from whom they continue to lease land.

125 Since they occupy a very marginal position in relation to the totality of the inhabitants of the valley, they will not be studied here. /Table I appears here./

MS37
Fouta District

/668 cont./

162 Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

582 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 [166] within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

565 [582] Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

[567] [422] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

MS37
Fouta District
Tukolor MS37

S
T
587
565
143
•167

/671 cont./

Table II. Actual number of the endogamous Toucouleur groups, with, for each one, their percentage in relation to the total population, and the number of women from 15 to 45 years of age

Caste	Actual Number	%		Number of women from 15 to 45 years of age	
Torodo	84,200	45.0	74.0	18,700	
Tiédo	13,700	10.0		7,150	
Thioubalo	32,200	17.2		4,150	
Diawando	3,400	1.8			
Labo	2,100	1.1	4.5	450	1,850
Saké	1,100	0.6		250	
Mabo	2,300	1.2		500	
Baĩlo	2,200	1.6		650	
Gaoulo	2,100	1.1	1.1	450	1,100
Gallounké	5,800	3.2	20.4	1,300	8,450
Matioudo	32,200	17.2		7,150	
Total	187,000	100.0		41,900	

MS37
FOUTA DISTRICT

/674 cont./

143 1957 [13]): diocese of Oeiras in the state of Piauí, 9.67 for 1,931 marriages in 1954; diocese of Petrolina in the state of Pernambuco, 8.3 for 3,063 marriages in 1950, etc. These figures are exceptional for this country. Very often the value of the coefficient in each diocese is below 1.

Even the castes of India do not furnish comparable figures: 1.3 among the Desasth Rigvedi Brahmans; 2.8 among the Gaud Saraswat Brahmans; 6.35 among the Marathas. Nor even a closed tribe like the Ramah Navaho of the United States: 6.6. In Japan where a strong endogamy persists, the figures found so far are between 2.8 and 3.6.

In the countries of Europe, since the breakup of the isolates took place, the value of the coefficient is everywhere less than the unit. In the French provinces it varies at the present time between 0.1 and 0.9.

For the African populations the data are still very scarce. As far as we know, only Roberts, 1956 [14], has given figures for three Dinka groups from the valley of the Nile to the Sudan: 1.53, 0.96, 0.49. These figures are very far from those for the valley of the Senegal. Nevertheless, Tanner, 1958 [15], in an Islamic community of Tanganyika, has found a rate of 37.8% for marriages between cousins, which should correspond to a mean coefficient of consanguinity bordering on those reported here.

582
143 Evolution. The inaccuracy of historical knowledge makes it impossible to say whether the endogamic state described has always been so important, but one may assume that the present situation will be modified in the years /675/ to come. Several factors could play a part in an evolution toward exogamy, for example, migrations, the size of families, social barriers.

The role of migration is negligible here, for even though the Wolof and the Saracolé have founded some villages of foreigners [166] within Toucouleur country, the Fouta is now a country of active emigration toward urban centers like Dakar. The average size [162] of families is probably increasing because of the prolongation of the average length of life, which tends to increase the possibilities

MS37
Fouta District
Wolof MS30

S /675 cont./
582 of consanguineous marriages. More important, undoubtedly than the
143 above two will be the factors of the decrease of endogamy by the
[162] dissolution of social barriers, although the prejudice against
misalliances seems as long-lived as the human species.

Whether sudden or progressive, this social revolution,
furthered by education, will sooner or later bring about the de-
velopment of means of communication and the emancipation
S of the woman as well as of the man, for its is often the parents who
[584] choose the bride, rather than the future bridegroom.

W In addition, one notes among the Wolof a smaller propor-
[582] tion of consanguineous marriages in the ports than in the villages.
[369]

As in Europe, but for different reasons, this evolution will result in the "breakup of the isolates," the social and ethnic frontiers going back to those of the nation.

Conclusion

S
143 The demographic inquiry by sampling carried out in the valley of the Senegal has made it possible to measure endogamy on the basis of the frequency of consanguineous marriages and the mean coefficient of consanguinity. The figures obtained are by far the highest that are now known for populations of such numerical importance. This peculiarity causes the populations concerned to evolve under very special biological circumstances which are not without reverberations on their demographic condition. (See Sutter [16].) An investigation in this direction is being pursued.

The genetic aspect of the situation should no longer be ignored, and anthropologists concerned with the mechanism of the differentiation of human types will find the material for taking into consideration the intervention of a factor which is also important.

Pierre Cantrelle
(Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Dakar)

/See the foreign text for the bibliography on p. 676 of the original text./

/159 cont./

125 124 The questionnaire of the first investigation pertains to indispensable socio-demographic data and to housing conditions; as for the interviews, although permitting a definite framework, they were conducted in a very flexible way to give the interlocutor the maximum liberty of expression and thus to gather information on attitudes and opinions concerning family problems: education, marriage portion, marriage, polygamy, etc.

128 We shall not present here the complete record of this double investigation, but simply a certain number of results which give a somewhat more precise idea of the social reality at Pikine.

I. Demographic Elements

162 The total population of Pikine during the winter of 1960, not counting visitors and transients, comes to 28,780 inhabitants (1). The first stratum numbers 25,660 persons and the
162 the second 3,120. This figure calls for the following remarks.

1) In winter the seasonal migrants who come to work at
166 Dakar during the dry season have set out again for their homes /160/ in order to farm. Thus it is probable that the population of Pikine, like that of Dakar, is larger during the months from December to April (1).

---

1. A brief calculation of error shows that the population of Pikine has a 95% chance of being made up of between 26,286 and 31,374, the standard deviation being 1,247.

1. It will suffice to refer to the results of the demographic investigation that took place in March 1961 to verify the magnitude of this event.

/160 cont./

162 361 2) One often hears figures on the order of 40,000 or 50,000 advanced for the total population of Pikine. It seems that there may be a distinct exaggeration there and that the reason for it is the following: a good many parcels are unoccupied, as they are bare or built up but uninhabited. Out of a sample of 287 parcels, 65 were unoccupied, making 22.6%. One comes across bare lands in all the quarters but the phenomenon is particularly noticeable in one of the first quarters of Pikine, namely, Maka-Kolobane, and naturally in the new subdivisions which are adjacent to Thiaroye-Gare. 162 423 Here it is normal, elsewhere it is less so, and one may ask whether a certain number of owners, although already possessing a residence in Dakar, have not obtained the right to certain parcels in spite of the administration. Be that as [123] it may, it has been impossible for me to investigate this further since the subject is taboo and the mere fact of mentioning it at one time or another has resulted in serious prejudices against carrying out the investigation.

162 3) This figure confirms the one obtained in the investigation conducted in the previous year during the same period by Father Martin, which gave a little more than 22,000 persons. An increase of 6,000 individuals in one year, taking into account the lots divided up in the course of the year or the buildings finished by the Office de l'Habitat in the districts, is nothing extraordinary.

[361] 4) With its 30,000 inhabitants Pikine is to be classed in the first rank of the agglomerations of the suburbs of Dakar, far ahead of the traditional villages of Cambérène, Thiaroye, and others, and the size of its population gives it a place apart; it is no longer a village, but a city.

Let us now examine the structure according to age and ethnic group. The following table shows the division of men and women into their age classes and according to ethnic groups: the pyramid that follows recapitulates the total results.

162 882 The age pyramid makes two phenomena apparent. On the one hand, there is the indentation of the class from 15 to 19 years of age. This gap is characteristic of all the cities of Africa. It probably has two principal causes: first, an

/160 cont./

162 erroneous estimate of the age /161/ /Table 1 appears here/
882 /162/ of young people, which is of a psycho-sociological
order. The adolescents are either very much children, and one then gives them less than 15 years -- or they are already considered adults, thus more than 20 years old. /Diagrams appear here./ Without commenting on this error, let us nevertheless note that this fact is correlative to a global situation in which youth is difficult to recognize as such in the society, and where passage from childhood to adulthood is accomplished without the transition of adolescence.

162 /163/ The other cause is of an objective order: Pikine
[166] is a city composed largely of migrants coming from their villages, as we shall see farther on, and the most favorable age for rural migration is between 20 and 30.

The other phenomenon clearly perceptible on the pyramid is the successive bulge of each of the two sides of the pyramid; in the city the old women are proportionately less numerous than the men of the same age. Despite the possibility of errors of estimation on the part of the persons concerned, the subjective impressions of an investigator confirm this fact: in Pikine one finds fewer old women than old men.

The percentage of persons more than 60 years old is, moreover, low: only 3%. The population as a whole is very young. It is calculated that 53.6% are less than 20 years old, which leaves 43.4% adults.

Another remarkable fact is a slight imbalance of the sex ratio in favor of women; 47.5% men as against 52.3% women. We observe an inverse structure in Dakar; the census of 1955 shows that the percentage of women increases as one goes from the center to the periphery. Ouakam, Yof, Cambérène, Thiaroye, Yembeul, and Mbao, like Pikine, have a female population larger than the male population. Only the first are old villages, and this fact is not surprising. On the contrary, the building of Pikine is of very recent date and it is a matter of a city. Let us note, finally, that in the districts the sex ratio is slightly higher than in the rest of the quarters: 54% women as against 46% men, and then again one finds 52.3% and 47.7%. We shall see later whether

S
W
SR
F
162

Table 1. Population by sex, age, and ethnic group.

TOTAL		Age Groups	WOLOF		SÉRÈRE		TOUCOULEUR		PEUL		Moors		BAMBARA		Others		TOTAL
M	W		M	W.	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	
900	640	0 à* 1	490	340	70	40	190	140	60	40	40	20	30	20	20	40	1 540
2 630	2 070	1 à 4	1 440	1 250	70	100	560	370	160	60	140	40	170	80	90	170	4 700
2 120	2 740	5 à 9	1 200	1 520	100	160	470	610	40	120	80	100	110	120	120	110	4 860
1 400	1 280	10 à 14	770	560	0	120	220	390	60	40	80	60	130	60	140	50	2 680
590	1 070	15 à 19	350	520	20	120	60	210	30	40	60	20	60	90	10	70	1 660
570	1 420	20 à 24	290	770	40	130	60	260	40	90	80	40	0	80	60	50	1 990
520	1 680	25 à 29	320	950	40	140	100	420	10	60	20	60	30	40	0	10	2 200
850	1 240	30 à 34	420	720	80	80	160	260	50	40	80	40	30	40	30	60	2 090
960	1 080	35 à 39	440	660	70	80	200	230	80	50	20	20	90	0	60	40	2 040
900	580	40 à 44	540	380	30	10	210	100	30	20	20	40	70	20	0	10	1 480
710	420	45 à 49	430	220	0	20	110	130	60	20	40	20	40	0	30	10	1 130
650	400	50 à 54	310	270	10	0	60	70	20	20	100	0	50	40	100	0	1 050
370	150	55 à 59	170	90	0	40	100	0	20	0	20	0	0	20	60	0	520
510	330	60 et* +	310	260	20	20	100	30	20	0	0	20	20	0	40	0	840
13 680	15 100		7 480	8 510	550	1 060	2 600	3 220	680	600	780	480	830	610	760	620	28 780
28 780			15 990		1 610		5 820		1 280		1 260		1 440		1 380		

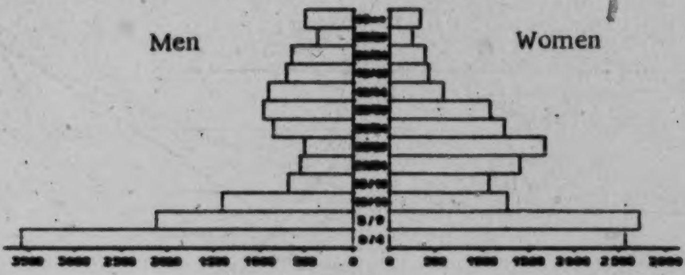
*a = to; et = and.

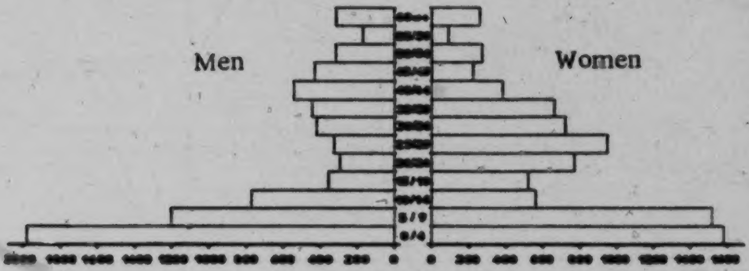
Pikine
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Fulani MS11

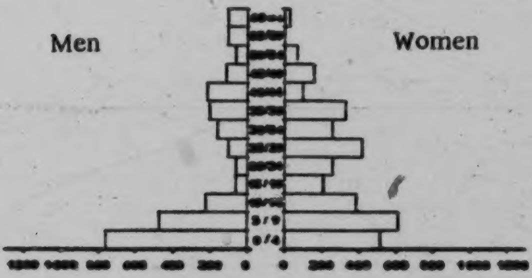
10: Thoré--10 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
Pikine
Wolof MS30

/162/

S
W
162


Total Population


Wolof


Toucouleur

MS37
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32

S
162

/163 cont./
it is possible to discover a likely explanation for this phenomenon.

S
162
128

Let us now turn to the data peculiar to each ethnic group. Let us determine first the classification followed and the reasons which have led to its adoption. The Lebou have been grouped with the Wolof because of their small number and also because, in a city recently created, their traditional particularism has not found the means or the occasion to develop as in the old villages of the peninsula. The few Sarakolé investigated have been grouped with the Toucouleur /Tukolor/ insofar as they are natives of the Valley. By Bambara, both the Bambara proper as well as the Khassonké /Kassonke/ are to be understood. Finally, under the category "Others" we have assembled all the other ethnic groups, primarily the Casamançais /people of Casamance/, Manjack and Diola, Guineans, and the natives of the other African states.

/164/

S
W
162

The Wolof

Numbering almost 16,000, they constitute 55.6% of the population. This majority is close to that of Dakar. The sex ratio is 108 women for 100 men. The age pyramid shows the same anomalies as the general pyramid, with the characteristic gap for the period 15-19 years, and the successive bulge on each side. 52.8% of the population is less than 20 years old, which is the general percentage.

The Sérère

S
SR
162
166

Their total number does not exceed 5.6% of that of the total population; 50% are less than 20 years old. The most characteristic trait which is peculiar to the Sérère /Serer/ is the size of the female population -- hence of the female migration: out of three individuals there are two women and one man. In connection with this fact, the indentation from 15-19 years of age is much less pronounced here on the female side than in the other ethnic groups; the young Sérère women and girls soon leave their village for the city.

/164 cont./

000 and girls soon leave their village for the city.

The Toucouleur

162 This is the second ethnic group in order of importance, since they make up 20.22% of the population. The young people less than 20 years old constitute 55.3%, and the sex ratio is 123 women to 100 men, clearly higher than that of the Wolof. But the remarkable phenomenon which appears on the above pyramid and distinguishes it from the Wolof pyramid is that this imbalance is much more pronounced between the ages of five and 20 than at other ages; if the number of boys from 0 to five years old is much larger than that of girls (68 girls for 100 boys), the sex ratio between five and 20 years is 161 girls as against 100 boys, and subsequently drops again to 136 as against 100. The same phenomenon is observable in Dakar according to the census of 1955, and this demographic structure is peculiar to the city, since the census made in the Fouta by the MISOES shows an inverse structure: in the Valley 162 166 the boys are more numerous than the girls. Why? The answers that were given in the Toucouleur households questioned on the subject oriented the explanation in the following direction: on the one hand, the girls are reared by their mother and remain with her in the city; on the other hand, when his sons have come of age, /165/ the father likes to send them back to the country so that they may attend the Koranic school.

162 For the remainder of the ethnic groups we shall limit ourselves to presenting the same data in the table below, which at the same time sums up the total results. /Table 2 appears here./

This recapitulative table, besides the information already given, shows clearly the difference which distinguishes the first three ethnic groups from the last three, the Peul being at the extremity: among the latter the sex ratio is below 100 and the percentage of adult women clearly drops below 50%, whereas it is the reverse among the others. This [166] is easily explained if one notes that the Moors, the Bambara,

S
SR
WF
162

Table 2

% of the total population	Wolof	Sérère	Toucouleur	Peul	Moors	Bambara	Others	Total
	55.5	5.6	20.2	4.5	4.4	5	4.8	100
% of young people less than 20 years old	55.6	50	55.3	50.8	50.8	65	59.4	Av. 53.6
Sex ratio (number of women per 100 men)	108	200	123	88	61	73	81	110
% of women out of the group less than 20 years old	49.7	67.5	52.9	44.4	37.5	42.5	53.7	50.5
% of women between 5 and 20 years old	55	78	71	60.6	45	47.3	46	61.9
% of adult women	57.2	64.2	58.4	49.5	38.7	42.1	32.1	54.3
Average % of women (in each ethnic group)	53.2	66.6	53.3	46.9	38.1	42.4	45	54

/165/

10: Thoré--13 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

Pikine
Wolof MS 30
Serer FA 32
Fulani MS 11

/165 cont./

162–166 and the Others (some Manjack and Diola are an exception) come from a distance and that it is therefore normal to see the men emigrate to Dakar and the women remain in the country. On the other hand, one can expect the native Wolof or Sérère women to accompany their husbands, fathers, or brothers to join them when they are settled in the city. An anomaly already pointed out exists no less in this case: Pikine appears somewhat if not altogether like a city reservoir of women, at least like a refuge for them.

/166/ II. Place of Origin and Date of Arrival

166 If one considers the history of Pikine, a preliminary question arises which does not bear on the "where-did-you-come-from" or "when-did-you-arrive?" and which is this: "why did you come to Pikine?" Indeed, let us not forget that in the beginning the Pikine population consisted only of the people who were expelled from the irregular quarters of Dakar, to whom a parcel of land was granted in compensation. The problem is to know whether in 1960 the situation had not changed. Here is the average percentage of the heads of families expelled out of the total, and within each ethnic group. /Table 3 appears here./

In the districts one does not count any family head expelled, since, upon their request, they have all been housed by the following results for the other quarters: 45% of the heads of families have been expelled, and 46% have not. This test is important because it proves that in eight years the mode of the peopling of Pikine has radically changed: from being forced to depart, it has today become voluntary. Another fact is significant for this evolution and its meaning: one finds in our sample a score of families, say 8.2%, who came directly from their former residence to Pikine without going by way of Dakar, and all except one arrived in the course of the year preceding the investigation. The village migrants come to Pikine for the same reasons that impel [369] them to come to Dakar, and the inhabitants of Rufisque or of Thiès do not think of leaving the city to settle in Pikine.

[Text continues on p. 16--Analyst]

/172 cont./

166 369 3) The migrations of the Toucouleur and the Moors show, for each of them, their own peculiarities, which give these two ethnic groups of immigrants an unquestionable originality.

/173/

III. Work, Socio-occupational Structure

162 463 128 Three problems are interesting in this section: the socio-occupational distribution properly speaking, unemployment, and the place of work.

The crude results of the distribution of the occupations are too scattered to show the broad outlines of the structure. It has seemed to us preferable to regroup the various professions into six large categories and to present the table of percentages of each within each ethnic group. Let us specify what each category corresponds to: that without any occupation, we have put the marabouts who do not have any activity, whether they practice full time -- which is rare --, part time, or do not have any students at all. /Table 11 appears here./

It is necessary to add the merchants to the artisans. The category "manual workers" is the largest: it includes the /174/ laborers, orderlies, chauffeurs, in short, all those who do not have an occupational qualifications. By staffs one should understand foremen as well as office employees, accountants, or typists, provided they belong to private enterprises. Under the rubric of "officials" are listed all those who are concerned with public functions from the local or general staff: policemen, government officials, or employees of the municipality. For each ethnic group the first line gives the percentages in the quarters and the second the corresponding percentages in the districts. The bottom line shows the total result, and the two preceding ones the results in the quarters and in the districts.

This table deserves a brief explanation:

162 463 [127] 1st. There are only very few cultivators. One would think that the proximity of the Niayes of Cape Verde and the importance of truck-gardening cultivation would favor

[Text continues on p. 28--Analyst]

EW SR
162-463 S 464

10: Thoré--27 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

/173/

Pikine
Wolof MS 30
Serer FM 32
Fulani MS 11
Peul

Table 11. Occupations in % within each ethnic group.[x]

		Without	Cultivators	Artisans	Manual Workers	Teachers	Officials	Total
W	Q	7.6	1.8	28.8	44.1	8.5	9.2	100
	D			5.8	17.6	17.8	58.8	100
S	Q		9.1	27.2	63.7			100
	D					33.3	66.7	100
T	Q	2.6	0	21	47.4	13.2	15.8	100
	D				8.5	16.5	75	100
P	Q			20	60	10	10	100
	D				50		50	100
M	Q			64.2	35.8			100
	D							
B	Q				71.4		28.6	100
	D					20	80	100
O	Q		6.5	18.75	62.5		12.5	100
	D					64.7	33.3	100
	Q	4.7	1.9	27.6	48.1	7.5	10.2	100
	D	0	0	2.4	11.9	21.4	64.3	100
Av.		4.3	1.7	25.3	44.9	8.7	15.1	100

[x] [For explanation of Table 11, see category 116, pp. 26 and 28--Analyst]

/174 cont./

162 the development of agricultural work; there has been none
463 of this. Indeed, the lands are the property of the Lebou of
[427] neighboring villages and the cost of renting is high. Gardening therefore remains the privileged domain of the old villages of the peninsula, Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer, and Cambérène.

2nd. The great majority of the labor force is made up of non-specialized workers: almost 45% manual workers without occupational qualifications.

3rd. The Moors have a special place: two-thirds are merchants who keep shop, and the last third is made up almost exclusively of butchers who have been classed among the "manual workers."

4th. The most interesting feature is the difference which distinguishes the occupational structure of the districts from that of the quarters: in the first, no shop, either Moorish or Wolof, and practically no artisan; in the second, practically one worker out of two has no occupational qualifications, whereas this proportion drops to 12% in the districts; finally, and above all, out of three heads of families in the former, two are officials, whereas there is no more than one official out of ten in the latter.

362 The reason for this recruitment is solely of an economic
463 nature. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts are owners
[427] of their dwellings or will become such after they have made their payments. Now, these are spread over five years and
[426] have been calculated in such a way that the monthly payment does not exceed a quarter of the salary received. For the cheapest dwellings this is equal to a payment of 5,000,
[465] therefore to a monthly salary of about 20,000. A /175/ guard, houseboy, or a laborer does not earn this sum and is incapable of procuring a dwelling of this type. The dwellings of the districts are thus principally reserved for the officials, and then for the staffs, who have an adequate and
571 an assured salary. We therefore witness here the appearance of this phenomenon of social differentiation observable in many other African countries; it consists of the existence

/176 cont./

464 and by A. Diop have shown, is connected with the effective solidarity of the ethnic group; certain occupations are their monopoly, and when a Toucouleur occupying a position wishes to go back to the Fouta, he will see to it that one of his "brothers" succeeds him. No doubt there is the same solidarity with regard to work everywhere, but it does not seem to have the same effectiveness.

464 484 A final point remains to be discussed: where do the residents of Pikine go to work? They rely on two principal places of work: Dakar, and Pikine itself. Furthermore, a certain number of persons are employed either in the Niayes or in the concerns located on the route from Rufisque outside of Dakar to the interior of the peninsula of Cape Verde, and some go still farther, especially some cattle traders or some peddlers whose permanent residence is in Pikine. Here are the respective percentages, by quarters, of workers employed in the different places: /Table 13 appears here./

Table 13

	Quarters	Districts	General Av.
Dakar	66.4	95.2	70.4
Pikine	26.7	4.8	23.7
Cape Verde	6.1	0	5.3
Elsewhere	0.8	0	0.6
Total	100	100	100

464 484 162 The people of Pikine who work locally should be divided into two categories: on the one hand, the employees of the ICOTAF (Industrie /177/ Cotonnière africaine/ African Cotton Industry/); on the other hand, the merchants and artisans. Those who are over fifty have more difficulty in leaving their homes, as a comparison of the three following rates shows:

/177 cont./

464 484 162	Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor force	25.3%
	Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers in Pikine	37%
	Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers in Dakar	16%

[463] Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

464 484 If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment, 494 484 and as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G. G.," thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have [493] personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from 484 Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on [369] [361] the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

46 463 162 After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word about female work. The great majority of the women do not have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

S /177 cont./
462 work are divided into very different groups: here is the
463 distribution of female occupations by percentages:

162 /178/ Hairdressers (occupation often held by the *griotes*)	4.5
Silent partners of weavers	2.2
Dyers	3.7
Saleswomen in markets or stalls	15.5
Cleaning women, laundresses	4.5
Laborer	0.8
Others	68.8
S Total	100

365 Hairdressing is more an ordinary service than remunera-
565 tive work; it is most often done by the caste women, *griotes*
463 or jewelers, in exchange for money or for presents which they
receive from "free" or "noble" families -- the Wolof term is
"*guer*" -- for whom they are the appointed *griotes*. It is not
unusual, along one of the sandy streets in the shade of a wall,
to come across a group of women, one of whom will be braid-
ing the hair of another stretched out flat on her stomach, her
S head on the knees of her hairdresser.

462 Equally traditional are the occupations of dyer or silent
463 partner of a weaver. At the extreme opposite is the laborer
SR of the CAFAL who works daily at fixed hours for a definite
[462] salary. There are only a few of them in our sample, all of
whom are Sérère. The women who do housework or who are
laundresses must likewise be classed under this rubric of
modern work. The way they use their time is indeed much
less whimsical than in the case of the first categories. Be-
tween the two one must place the most important occupation,
S that of saleswoman. And here it is again necessary to dis-
[443] tinguish several categories of saleswomen: those who keep a
shop or a stall by the side of their houses, those who go to sell
at the market of Pikine, and finally those who every day go
from Pikine to Dakar to sell their vegetables and their produce
S W at Kermel or at Sandaga.

SR On the other hand, the positive replies are too numerous
462 to be profitably discussed by ethnic groups and thus to separate
162 out the principal ethnic behaviors. At best it is possible that

MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Serer F132

S
W
SR
/178 cont./

462 162 the jobs most thrust into the modern rhythm, like the last two categories of the saleswomen in the Dakar markets, are held by Wolof of Sérère women. The rate of activity of these last two is generally higher proportionately, since almost 40% of the Wolof or Sérère women are reckoned as having an occupation outside of the household, /179/ while this proportion drops to 13% for the Toucouleur and the other ethnic [illegible]ups.

S 462 162 [illegible]nal point deserves to be mentioned: although one finds some women devoted to traditional occupations in the sample of the districts and even though one or two stalls are to be found there, we have, in turn, not found any woman there who works outside as saleswoman, housekeeper, or typist; the female workers of our sample are all found in the stratum of the quarters.

S 369 462 In conclusion one may say that acculturation to the urban environment by means of modern work seems for the time being to have left aside the female world. Except for the Wolof and Sérère sectors of the female population, the rest have remained untouched. It is only under the strong [462] pressure of economic motives that the women become reconciled to going to work, and the Sérère women give proof of more initiative than the others. But when this compulsion ceases and the woman again takes up her traditional behavior: housewife, and nothing but housewife. This return to tradition may seem astonishing; it is explained by the educational level of those whom we have called "literate." It is this point that should now be studied.

IV. Educational Level and Schooling

121 If belonging to a specific ethnic group constitutes a fundamental conditioning prior to settling in a city, the educational level, on the contrary, is both a sign and a factor of acculturation. On these grounds, therefore, it also has considerable importance when it is a matter of studying the possible variations of behavior, attitudes, and opinions. The initial results have shown that these were in fact, with

/182 cont./

Table 15

191
871

Age Class	20-30	30-50	50 +
Illiterate	38.7	34.1	60.2
Summary knowledge	6.5	41.9	30.6
Literate	54.8	24	9.2
Total	100	100	100

people than old who have received a beginning of academic training. Besides, the young people from 20 to 30 years old have either been to school or do not know French because they have not had occasion to learn it outside of school. Thus the generations show a distinct difference, and this can only become more pronounced as an examination of the actual number of pupils enrolled shows.

871
162
Here is first the table of the attendance ratio; it refers to children from seven to 14 years old, divided by ethnic groups and sex. /Table 16 appears here./

A comparison with the results of the same inquiry, conducted the preceding year, despite the possible variations of the sampling, indicates distinct progress for the girls, from 62.5% to 82.6% for the boys, and an average of from 45.3 to 63.9. Nevertheless, a great effort must still be made, especially on the part of the female population, since one girl out of two still does not go to school. Let us now distinguish the attendance ratios in the districts and in the quarters. /Table 17 appears here./

/183/ The difference is great between the school behavior of the districts and that of the quarters. First the total: almost all of the children in the districts go to school, nine out of ten, while this proportion drops to three out of five in the quarters.

10: Thoré--39   S-5   (1960) 1962   MS37 Senegal MS37

Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Fulani MS11
Peul

/182/

S
W
SR
F
167
148

Table 16[1]

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Total
Girls	32.65	88.6	46.9	50	100	75	61.54	47.32
Boys	92.5	64.7	79.16	66.6	44.4	72.2	75.86	82.6
Girls + boys	52.58	75	56.16	55.5	68.7	73.5	69	63.9

[1] /school attendance ratio of children 7-14 years old in the city of Pikine. See cat. 116 pp 38 and 41 for explanation — AN/

Wolof MS30
Serer FA37
Fulani MS11
Peul

S
W
SR
F
167
128

/182/

Table 17 1/

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Total
Q	25.75	71.74	39	50	100	66.6	58.33	40.69
Girls								
D	93.33	100	75	--	--	100	100	89.13
Q	91.66	63.5	76.2	50	44.44	75	76.9	81.2
Boys								
D	100	100	100	100	--	100	66.6	96.9
Q	60.1	66.6	51.6	50	68.7	71.4	68	60
Total G. + B								
D	99	100	81.8	100	--	100	80	91

1/ /school attendance ratio of children 7-14 years old in the city of Pikine — by districts and quarters — see cat. 116 pp 38 and 41 for explanation — AN/

/183 cont./

871 On the other hand, the backwardness of the girls, which was particularly marked among the Wolof and the Toucouleur, disappears almost completely among the Wolof of the districts, whereas one Toucouleur girl out of four in the districts still does not go to school.

191
871 In all respects one observes a radical change which distinguishes the generations: the one of the present parents is, in the majority, illiterate and knows only a little French. The situation is reversed with the rising generation, thanks to the effort toward educational equipment. This upset will be even more noticeable in the female population, for in 20 years more than half the mothers of families living in Pikine will have been to school, while at present one finds scarcely any.

V. Religion

771
795
162 A final factor should be studied because of its considerable cultural influence; that of religion. In Pikine the vast majority of inhabitants are Moslems, so that, in addition to membership in a religious confession properly speaking, we have differentiated membership in a definite Islamic sect. This leads to five different categories within Islam: two of these are sects of wide geographic scope, the Tidjanes and the Khadres, one is peculiar to the Senegal, Muridism, and one is encountered above all in the region of Cape Verde, the Layens; finally, some individuals, while calling themselves Moslems, declare that they do not belong to any sect.

795
162 Here (p.43) is the table of the various sects or religious confessions into which the inhabitants of Pikine are divided, first in absolute figures and then in percentages.

It suffices to underline the points that these tables clearly bring to light. First, the numerical preponderance of the Tidjanes over the assemblage of the other confessions.

/183 cont./

795 In itself alone, the sect accounts for more than half of the
162 population. It is only among the Sérère that Muridism predominates; in all the other ethnic groups it is either nonexistant or occupies second place, as among the Wolof.

In the second place, although Tidjanism predominates among the Wolof /184/ /Tables 18 and 19 appear here/ and by a large majority among the Toucouleur, the Peul, and the Sarakolé (1), the Khadres are the ones who are preponderant in the other groups.

Finally, Pikine is not a city in which the Christian element holds an important place. Unquestionably it is difficult to judge by starting from such a limited sample of Catholics. Nevertheless, the percentage obtained corresponds to that which Father Martin found last year: 2.36% instead of 2%. The Christian minority /185/ is represented above all by the Sérère and Casamançais element. We note simply that this percentage is slightly higher in the districts than in the quarters: 13.7% instead of 0.9%.

The table of the distribution of the heads of households -- comprised of women this time -- by ethnic group and religion offers a useful point of comparison. /Table 20 appears here./

Let us compare the average percentage of this table with that of the preceding one: we see that the proportion of Tidjanes and of Khadres decreases as one passes from the total population to the category of heads of households, while this proportion increases in the case of the Murids. This phenomenon indicates simply that the Tidjane and Khadre homes are relatively more numerous than the Murid homes, as is confirmed by the following table where we give the average number of individuals by homes, according to religious affiliation: /Table 21 appears here./

[Text continues on p. 46--Analyst]

---

1. We have separated the Sarakolé from the Toucouleur because there is a slight difference of religious behavior between them.

MS37
Pikine
soninke MS21
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Fulani MS 11
Tukolor MS27

/184/

S
W
SR
F
50
162
795

Table 18. Religions

Religion	Wolof	Sérère	Toucouleur	Sarakolé	Peul	Moors	Bambara	Other	Total
Tidjanes	8,790	340	3,990	680	1,000	40	460	120	15,420
Khadres	1,070	280	170	280	280	1,120	940	810	4,950
Murids	5,760	740	480	---	---	20	---	80	7,080
Layens	200	0	100	---	---	0	---	--	300
Without sect	130	20	120	---	---	80	---	--	350
Catholics	40	230	0	---	---	0	40	370	680
Total	15,990	1,610	4,860	960	1,280	1,260	1,440	1,380	28,780

S
W
SR
F
T
50
162
795

10: Thoré--44 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

Pikine
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Fulani MS11
Tukolor MS29
Soninke MS21

/184/

Table 19

Religion	Wolof	Sérère	Toucouleur	Sarakolé	Peul	Moors	Bambara	Other	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tidjanes	54.97	21.11	82.1	70.8	78.1	3.1	31.9	8.7	53.58
Khadres	6.7	17.39	3.5	29.2	21.9	89	65.3	58.7	17.2
Murids	36.02	45.96	9.87			1.5		5.8	24.6
Layens	1.25	0	2.06						1
Without sect	0.81	1.24	2.47			6.4			1.22
Cathol.	0.25	14.3	0				2.8	26.8	2.36
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

795
162

10: Thoré--45 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS39

Table 20

Ethnic Group / Religion	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Tidjanes	48.2	27	74.5	78.6	7.1	22.2	11.4	47.4
Khadres	3.6	13.5	11.2	14.3	85.8	74.1	54.3	16.9
Murids	45.3	43.3	10.1	--	--	--	5.7	29.7
Layens	2.3	--	2.1	--	--	--	--	1.6
Without sect	0.3	5.4	2.1	7.1	7.1	--	--	1.6
Catholics	0.3	10.8	--	--	--	3.7	28.6	2.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

/185 cont./

795
162

Table 21

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect.	Cath.
Average number of individuals per home	5.86	5.27	4.29	3.33	3.88	4.25

Let us note that this remark applies to the Wolof, for the difference of percentage in the case of the Sérère or the Toucouleur is too slight to enable one to draw any valid indications from it.

/186/ Let us now compare the religious affiliation of the districts and the quarters. We have the following table, always in percentages, for the male heads of families within each of these two categories. /Table 22 appears here./

Table 22

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Total
% Quarters	46.6	16	32.3	1.6	1.6	1.9	100
% Districts	54.8	19	7.1	2.4	2.4	14.3	100

Thus one observes two opposite movements: on the one hand, the percentage of all the sects increases as one passes from the quarters to the districts; on the other, this percentage decreases in the case of the Murids who are relatively and absolutely much more numerous in the quarters than in the districts. On the basis of this one could comment on the incompatability of Muridism and durable construction. Rather than launching ourselves on risky interpretations, let us content ourselves with observing the fact and noting that it runs in the same direction as the following observation obtained from the respective percentages of the literates and illiterates

795
162
191
871

/186 cont./
of each sect. /Table 23 appears here./

795
162
191
871

Table 23

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Av.
Literate	22	8.5	10.3	22.2	11.2	50	21.5
Illiterate	78	91.5	89.7	77.8	88.8	50	78.5
Total	100						100

The number of Moslems declared as without sect is too small to give any valid information. The small number of literates among the Khadres comes from the Moors, and their proportion doubles if one does not take the latter into consideration. Hence there remain only the Murids, among whom the proportion of literates does not come to half /187/ of the average percentage: 10.3 instead of 21.5. If one cannot say that Muridism specifically encourages illiteracy, neither can one say that it develops a taste and desire for learning among its adepts; the foregoing fact would tend rather to show that it plays the role of a curb, voluntary or involuntary, in the same measure that illiteracy constitutes a force of inertia to be conquered and that education, on [571] the contrary, perpetuates itself. In any case, the intellectual elite of the Pikine population prefers to join the other sects.

VI. Habitat and Family

128 After having presented the social framework of the whole society of Pikine, we shall conclude this quick study by showing first the material factors that condition its mode of existence, and then a certain number of general considerations concerning the structure of the urban family.

/191 cont./
511 limit of reasonable occupancy has been passed when one
362 figures an average of more than two persons per room. Thus
at the left of this line are the households which do not exceed
this relation of one room for two persons, at the right
those for whom occupancy becomes crowded. Now let us
add all the figures at the right of the line of separation, and
let us refer this total of "crowded" homes in each table to
the general total. One finds that this result, which one may
call the "index of occupancy," is much higher in the districts
162 than in the quarters: 26.4% as against 45.2%. This phenomenon
592 indicates that the families are much more /192/ /Table
511 25 appears here/ numerous in the districts. It is possible to
362 verify this in two ways: first, by comparing the average
number of persons per household, which gives 7.43 as against
4, 86; or else by constructing from the preceding tables the
histogram of the various families in percentages. One then
finds that in the first case the median runs between seven and
eight persons, and in the second between four and five; in
other words, that 47% of the homes in the districts have at
least eight persons, while in the quarters one counts only 47%
of the homes with five or more persons.

511 The same tendency is shown in the matter of the relation
352 of the furnishings to the number of persons. We have
therefore drawn up a table identical to the preceding one and
substituted the number of beds for the number of rooms, for
it is the bed that constitutes the principal article of furniture.
Obviously the data obtained do not have the same value, since
it has not been possible /193/ /Table 26 appears here/ to
distinguish the various kinds of beds: beds in one or two
places, wooden or metal springs. Nevertheless, it is shown
that the ratio of the number of persons to the number of beds
is higher in the districts than in the quarters. The total result
is the following: in the former 47, in the latter 38 beds
per 100 persons. One finds only five or six instances where the
bed is nothing but a simple mat thrown on the beaten earth
in the huts of the quarters.

/195 cont./

511 592 exist in the districts, where the parcel is individual, one can see in it one of the reasons why the average number of individuals per home is higher there than elsewhere.

592 162 The analysis of the qualitative composition of the family group discloses another reason. Schematically one may distinguish four principal kinds of family, if one considers its qualitative composition: the lone adult; the adult living with one or more children, where it is a matter of his own or of young brothers; the family called "elementary," composed of the husband, his wife or wives, and their children; finally, the elementary family to which are added either the collateral relatives, or outsiders, or both.

Here (p. 60) is the table of the percentages of these different types listed by ethnic groups; the first is that of the quarters, the second that of the districts.

When one goes from the quarters to the districts, the total shows that:

1st. The number of elementary families increases.

2nd. The proportion of the "extended" families -- in the very broad sense of the term -- remains the same in the two cases.

/196/ 3rd. This increase in the rate of the conjugal family is thus due to the almost total disappearance in the districts of single persons living alone or in the company of children who are in their charge, especially divorced women. /Table 28 appears here./

592 162 595 One may ask whether this factor suffices in itself to explain this increase in the number of individuals per household which we have listed above. There is another difference between the districts and the quarters which may likewise contribute to this explanation: it is the rate of polygamy. We mean by that the number of household heads who are polygamists in relation to the total number of male heads of households. Out of 100 family heads 21 are polygamists in the quarters and 31 in the districts. The difference is notable.

592
168

/196 cont./

Table 28

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Type 1	8.4	17.6	7	7.7	21.4	9.1	12.5	9.7
2	9.1	17.6	2.3	7.7	0	9.1	0	7.4
3	39.9	35.3	48.8	61.5	50	54.5	62.5	44.7
4	42.6	29.5	41.9	23.1	28.6	27.3	25	38.2
Total	100							100
Type 1	5.9							2.4
2	0					20		2.4
3	70.6	33.3	50	50	--	60	33.3	57.1
4	23.5	66.7	50	50		20	66.7	38.1
Total	100							100

/431/

121 Fashion, from a subjective point of view, represents a fleeting custom that depends on the taste and the whims of individuals. Its range of application is universal. It is thus a social and aesthetic phenomenon of the same order as painting, from which it borrows much.

Like all expressions of art, fashion is a language and a magic. It is also a technique, the different aspects of which may be grouped in three categories: the fabrication of the objects (fabrics and garments), the methods of sale, and the motivations for the purchase.

For the social psychologist the problem of the adaptation of the African to European fashions presents itself.

125 Among the various possible methods of investigation, our choice was directed first of all to direct observations and the method of tests. We have taken into consideration both the ethnic origin and the age of the subjects.

I. Female African Population of Dakar

● 162 1. Resident population on 6-1-55.

We ascertained:

a) the very distinct predominance of the Wolof group (47.8%).

b) the weak representation of the Sérèr and Diola in relation to the Bambara.

/432/

[191] [212] 2. Characteristics of this population:

a) Knowledge of French (14 years old and +):

4,844 women and girls speak our language (2,850 of them write it).

162 463 [294] [386] b) Salaried occupations in crafts and business (14 years old and +):

3,779, of whom: sewing, dressmaking,

lingerie, clothing	609
preparation, dyeing.....	142

MS37
DAKAR
Wolof MS30

S /432 cont./

162 463 [294] The 609 individuals who derive a profit from the fashion trades are divided ethnically as follows:

W [294]

Cape Verde group	243
Wolof group	157
Diola group	48
Lebou group	31
Sérèr group	29
Others	101

S W [386] The majority of the 142 dyers are Toucouleur /Tukolar/ (77) and Wolof (36).

W [463] Out of 1,455 Wolof women practicing a trade, for their own benefit or salaried, 598 are tradeswomen, 157 in sewing, 110 business employees.

The Lébou women likewise prefer to carry on a business (150 out of 340 counted as workers).

S 125

II. Experimental Research on the Aesthetic Sense of Dakar Women in the Matter of Clothing

For this study, which is only in its beginnings, two methods are used:

-- direct observation of clothing worn for display by a certain number of women.

-- the result of tests conducted among some of them. /Table I appears here on an unnumbered page./

/433/

A. Direct Observation.

1. Circumstances.

S [114] a) The investigation was conducted in the Médina of Dakar, in the quarters Sapeurs-pompiers /Firemen/ and Champ de courses /Race course/ -- between 9 and 19 November 1956, at the end of an election.

11: Lèques--3 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/Between pp. 432 and 433./

S
W
162

Table I. Female Population of Dakar on 6-1-55.

Ethnic Groups	1-9 yrs. old	10/14	15/19	20/24	25/29	30/34	35/39
West Atlantic Gr.							
Wolof	12 830	2 654	3 629	4 630	5 260	3 561	2 555
Lébou	3 980	912	929	1 181	1 263	865	722
Sérèr	1 090	251	495	662	678	389	237
Diola	302	106	231	226	172	109	65
Mandjiak	174	26	101	111	74	34	30
Susu	261	69	90	76	71	37	29
Kisi	39	2	34	26	8	3	1
Kpellé	19	3	13	21	14	3	2
Mankagne	23	11	11	11	7	1	2
Others	146	30	48	57	48	12	16
	18 877	4 064	5 581	7 001	7 596	5 014	3 659
Peul Gr. (N and NE)							
Toucouleur	2 954	545	1 033	1 191	1 366	882	616
Peul	702	142	292	359	348	234	173
Foula	385	61	247	208	168	54	49
Others	614	125	187	257	310	219	146
	4 655	873	1 759	2 015	2 192	1 389	984
Sudanese Gr.							
Bambara	1 045	206	299	290	308	305	158
Sarakholé	568	105	190	207	240	150	102
Socé	227	39	45	71	66	37	24
Malinké	260	46	109	77	74	36	23
Khassonké	147	33	38	40	50	29	24
Mandingue	133	17	30	39	30	19	10
Others	39	6	18	19	14	6	8
	2 419	452	729	743	782	482	329
Others							
CI + Bénin	242	38	52	52	63	35	16
Voltaics	132	14	32	44	31	13	5
Haoussa	26	11	11	11	10	4	1
Af., not Fr. W. Af.	71	16	27	25	21	23	11
Cape Verdians	502	159	180	209	188	127	117
Misc.	13	1	1	8	5	1	—
	986	239	303	349	318	203	150
Totals							

/Left half of table/

11: Lèques--4   P-5   (1956) 1957   MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/Between pp. 432 and 433./

S
W
162

30/34	35/39	40/44	45/49	50/54	55/59	60/64	65 +	Totals
3 561	3 555	2 007	1 063	1 036	611	608	1 184	41 628
865	722	635	416	370	268	260	496	12 297
389	237	141	78	62	41	34	51	4 212
109	65	47	25	25	10	9	13	1 341
34	30	13	13	1	2	3	1	583
37	29	22	11	7	7	3	5	603
3	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	114
3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	80
1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	69
12	16	5	4	4	1	—	1	372
5 014	3 659	2 870	1 610	1 505	940	918	1 751	61 379
882	616	452	231	137	85	86	127	9 705
234	173	130	60	56	20	29	50	2 595
54	49	22	19	3	12	2	2	1 232
219	146	112	63	58	34	34	84	2 243
1 389	984	716	373	254	151	151	263	15 775
205	158	138	76	54	40	32	82	2 933
150	102	67	43	34	22	21	23	1 772
37	24	28	14	6	4	6	5	572
36	23	17	4	5	1	1	6	669
29	24	3	6	4	8	2	2	386
19	10	6	5	6	2	5	3	305
6	8	3	1	—	—	—	3	117
482	349	262	149	109	77	67	124	6 754
35	16	8	7	4	2	3	3	535
13	5	3	3	3	4	1	—	285
4	1	2	1	1	—	1	1	80
23	11	14	11	7	12	4	7	249
127	117	136	141	81	82	33	61	2 016
1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	30
203	150	164	163	96	100	42	72	3 195
………								87 103

/Right half of table/

Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/14 cont./

S
369x
563

(occupational structure, class structure, etc.). It seems that there are certain numerical thresholds beyond which important qualitative changes make themselves felt, for example, in the area of race relations. We shall return to this.

B. -- Dakar is one of the most complex cases. It has some aspects of an old colonial town, and in fact it is one of the oldest in West Africa (2). But this one has been covered in a way by a town of the second type (3). The mixture of the social characteristics of the one town and of the other permits one to understand certain features of evolution of Dakar. On the other hand, the dominant original ethnic group, the Lebou group, has progressively lost its importance. Finally, a last phase of the development of the town makes it seem like a center of European population, still unstable.

S
369x
563
369
563

1. Considering only the African population, one ascertains that the elements that are old and stabilized -- unequally and under diverse conditions -- (Gorèean "old families," Lebou community) have been submerged by a heterogeneous mass. It is nevertheless necessary to specify:

S
W
[162]
[113]

a) The Lebou, despite the contributions received from the nearby suburb which is their traditional habitat zone (4), undoubtedly represent hardly more than 10% of

---

2. Counting only the colonial towns; the pre-European towns, with specific characteristics, are excluded here.

3. Cf. above, I, A, 1, b.

4. Cf. G. Balandier and P. Mercier, "Particularisme et évolution: les pêcheurs

Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/14 cont./

Lebou /Particularism and evolution: the Lebou Fishermen/," Etudes Sénégalaises, No. 3, 1952. Result of investigations made in 1946.

S
369^
W
369
S
W
563
[113]
[162]

the population.(5). Their /15/ customary organization,

5. The estimates, furnished by the way with every reservation by the Dakar Délégation, give 15% Lebou, but for the whole of the commune (suburban villages included); in the town itself the proportion is not as high. We consider only this one, without forgetting, however, that many Lebou living in the villages, and even Rufisque, work in Dakar. In the investigation by questionnaires conducted in Dakar, which gives, if not a true ethnic representation, at least some valuable indications, we encountered a little less than 10% Lebou.

S
W
[484]

moreover, continues to exist (1), but becomes more and

1. On this subject, cf. C. Michel, "L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la collectivité Leboue de Dakar /The customary organization (social and political) of the Lebou community of Dakar/," Bull. du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F., XXII,

S
W
[113]

Dakar
Wolof MS90
Lebu

/15 cont./

3, 1934; G.-J. Duchemin, "La République Lebou et le peuplement actuel /The Lebou republic and the present pupulation/," in "La presqu île du Cap-Vert /The Cape Verde peninsula/," Etudes Sénégalaises, No. 1, 1949.

S
369*
W
369
S
W
563
[113]

more formal, and its efficacy is reduced besides by the new political cleavages (2). Their role as holders of the landed

2. This goes as far as a splitting up of the traditional functions and those of the heads of quarters between the supporters of the two large present-day parties (SFIO and BDS).

property has progressively shrunk and remains important only in the suburbs (3). Finally, the Lebou particularism (4)

3. On this subject cf. the indications furnished by J. Dresch, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-220.

4. Cf. G. Balandier and P. Mercier, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

is tending to be obliterated, and the boundaries between Lebou and Wolof become more blurred (5).

S
W
[162]

5. In the figures furnished by the Dakar Délégation, one sees accounting for 11% a category

Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/15 cont. /

called Wolof-Lebou, for which one cannot know to what extent it is the result of mixtures between the two groups and to what extent it is the effect of a "Wolofization" of the Lebou.

S
369x
W
369
S
W
[162]
[563]

b) As far as the Lebou and the Wolof are concerned, and to a lesser extent certain other groups, contacts with the regions and kinship groups of origin remain important. Let us add that for a population in large majority Moslem, the religious centers attracting pilgrims are in the interior of Senegal. A large proportion of the population is therefore not at all completely uprooted, and the phenomena of "destructurization" which generally accompany the rural exoduses are less marked than in most of the recent towns. Therefore the fact that only 22% of the persons questioned during our investigation were born in Dakar is less significant than it seems at first glance (6).

S
369x
[788]

S
[162]

6. Compare with the figures given by G. Balandier for Poto-Poto: 90 to 98% for persons born outside of the town (op. cit., p. 25). On the other hand it must not be forgotten that even in the "old towns" in France the proportion of persons born in the town where they live may be very low, for example, 25% at Auxerre (cf. C. Bettelheim and S. Frère, Une ville française moyenne, Auxerre en 1950, Etude de structure sociale et urbaine /An average French town, Auxerre in 1950; Study of social and urban structure/, Paris, 1950).

Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/16 cont./

S
369x
563
[166]
W
[369]
[563]

to exist by two processes: forced displacement of old quarters at the time of the creation of the Médina, massive settlement of foreign "tenants" in the quarters remaining in place. If the Lebou names of quarters have often been preserved (even after their displacement), if the headships of quarters are still in major part held by Lebou, these soon perhaps will be only historical vestiges. Moreover, the ethnic composition of the quarters and of the "compounds" is constantly being transformed.

S
369x
563
162●

The numerical importance of the diverse groups cannot be established in any precise fashion because of the lack of detailed censuses. We shall mention as an indication:

a) The official figures, furnished by the way with every reservation, and valid for the whole of the commune of Dakar (the suburban villages included): Lebou, 15%; Wolof, 25%; "Wolof-Lebou," 11%; Sérère, /Serer/, 3%; Bambara, 9%; Toucouleur /Tukolor/, 10%; Peul, 5%; Moors, 4%; Diola, 5%; Soussou /Susu/, 2%; Cape Verdeans (Portugese), 2%; etc. (2).

2. Percentages taken from figures shown in the 1953 report. Not mentioned, by the way, are persons originally from Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey. They do not seem to figure in the total, the headings including only: persons originally from other territories of the A.O.F. /French West Africa/, persons from Cape Verde, persons from Togo, persons from the Cameroun, persons originally from AEF /French Equatorial Africa/ and those from Sierra Leone.

S
[125]

/17/ b) The fragmentary data gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires conducted by the Section

17: Mercier--13 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/17 cont./

369ˣ
563
162●
[125]

de Sociologie in the first half of 1953. The 1,231 persons questioned were divided among 43 different ethnic groups. The groups of small numerical importance, however, were not all represented (1). One found (the few percentages given are only indicative):

-- persons originally from the Senegal-Sudan zone: [166] besides the Lebou (9%), the Wolof (43%)(2), the Toucouleur [167] (11%), the Sérère (5%), the Bambara (6%), the Sarakolé (3%), the Socé, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, the Khassonké /Kassonke/, the Peul, the Diola (3%) (3), the Mandiaque;

1. Some others, represented in all Dakar by only a few individuals, were encountered in the course of subsequent investigations.

2. Included here is a certain number of persons who were manifestly of Lebou origin and who nevertheless called themselves Wolof, proof of the crisis of the old Lebou particularism.

3. The figure furnished by official sources undoubtedly is closer to reality; there is, in fact, among the Diola, a majority of workers, permanent or seasonal, and this is the category that proved to be the most difficult to contact. The proportion of workers in the total number of persons who agreed to answer our questionnaire is much smaller than it should be. [125]

/17 cont./

-- persons originally from French Guinea: Malinké (3%), Peul, Soussou, Kissi; 369x 563 162●

-- persons from the Ivory Coast: Agni, Appollonien, Attié, Baoulé /Baule/, Bété /Betie/, Dida, Krou, Wobé; [167]

-- persons originally from the Togo-Dahomey zone: Aizo, Ewe, Fon, Goun /Gun/, Nago, Popo, Mina;

-- persons originally from the Upper Volta-Niger zone: Mossi, Sonray;

-- miscellaneous: Moors (3%), Cape Verdeans (2%), Yoruba, Boulama, Congolese, etc.

Those for whom we have indicated no percentage are for the most part of little importance numerically in relation to the total population. Their situation, however, is very variable: the consequences of uprooting, the degree of cohesion which preserves small groups very far from their region of origin, the degree of integration in the urban society, vary according to the level at which they are located in the new social stratification which takes shape in the towns.

3. Indeed, another feature of the sociology of colonial towns -- and which is, as we mentioned above, very conspicuous in the "old towns" -- is the progressive differentiation into strata definable by socio-occupational criteria. It assumes, as the investigation on Dakar showed, a /18/ greater and greater importance in the stabilized population; there, the domains where behavior continues to be determined by the ethnic, religious, etc. situation are limited. We posed the problem in this manner in a recent article, to which we allow ourselves to refer (1): "It appears ... that our categories only 369x 565

---

1. P. Mercier, "Un essai d'enquête par questionnaires dans la ville de Dakar /An attempt at investigation by questionnaires in the town of Dakar/" (Paper given at the conference on the Consequences of Industrialization [113]

/18 cont. /

and Urbanization in Africa,. 369x 565 [113]
Abidjan, 1954).

tendentially have the character of social classes. They are distinguished by the living standard and way of life and by a certain number of specific behaviors, but the characteristics of colonial society, on the one hand, and, on the other, the persistence of traditional values do not permit them to assume the character of clear-cut classes." We shall return to this account, where we noted the absence of close correlations [182] between socio-occupational category, ethnic group, and religion, but, on the other hand, the existence of very clear correlations between the socio-occupational categories and facts such as level of French studies, the importance of intermarriages between different ethnic groups, that of the role played by the groupings and associations of a new type (political parties, syndicates, etc.). Also the ethnic affiliation plays a role of variable importance, although it is very rarely obliterated completely.

4. The new structures which characterize the towns 369x 571 give a large place to grouping of a political, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. order. We shall not discuss this problem here. It must be noted, however, that in Dakar the importance of some of them is considerably reinforced by the function that Dakar performs as the federal capital; it is valid for the syndicates and to a lesser degree for the political parties.

5. Finally, an important fact in every colonial town, 369x 563 162 but particularly in Dakar is the juxtaposition of racially and culturally different groups. For Dakar, the European population undoubtedly represents 10% of the total population (2), and

---

2. In the census of the non-autochthonous population of 1951, close to 22,000.

Dakar

/18 cont./ 369x 563 [162]

the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and Europeans.

a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African population has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied by qualitative changes: development of the categories of technicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants. This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population, has seen a division /19/into classes inherited from the society of origin become marked. At the same time, the European community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own services (specialized merchants, etc.). [161] [463] [565]

b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these transformations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place). But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina, almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the north, while purely European residential quarters developed in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new buildings, the European town, starting from the southern zone, gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in 369x 563 361

1. Some Europeans live there, however; the general housing crisis largely accounts for this. [362]

2. Differences in way of life,

Dakar

/23 cont./

369^x
592

2. The figures which follow will give a first idea of the size of the groups. They apply to the male heads of ménages (monogamous and polygamous), the bachelors and groups of bachelors being excluded. We made a simple count of the persons belonging to the household outside of the ménage investigated (man, wife or wives, children living with their parents, adopted children) (2). One obtains the following results:

> 2. We will see further on what has to be understood concretely by "adoption" in the Dakar urban context. This only concerns the effectively grouped ménage; if certain wives and their children do not live in the household considered, they are not counted.

[594]
[162]

a) For the whole of the population studied, or 915 male heads of ménages, 41% of the households coincide with the restricted family, 32% include one person in addition to the restricted family, 14% include two, 5% include three, 2% include four, 1% include five, 1% include more than five (3).

[128]

> 3. These percentages, as well as those that follow, are calculated faultily. They can only be approximations, under the conditions of the investigation. The expression in percentage, however, strikingly illustrates the indications gathered. The tendencies that they show have been corroborated for most of the categories by many subsequent interviews.

[565]

/24/ The following table divides this population into socio-occupational categories:

Dakar

369x
595
565
[183]

position (3).

3. The numerical data on the de facto situation seem to lead to a grouping of our categories different from that shown in the preceding paragraphs. But let us consider the first results of an investigation -- which is in progress -- on the attitudes of the young elements of the population (4). We shall again find a similar grouping: dominance of attitudes in favor of polygamy among the farmers, laborers, workers, master workmen, merchants; a dominance still, but much less clear, among the subordinate functionaries and employees; a dominance on the contrary in favor of monogamy among the superior functionaries and employees (although it is not yet actualized for the whole category) and among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. (where it has already clearly become fact) (5). A strong correlation appears between these data and

---

/28 cont./ demographic structure of the population (number of available women).

3. Let us recall the problems raised by the "marriage portion" and the accessory expenses of marriage. The reactions of the young people and certain Moslem elements in favor of a "matrimonial pact" have to some extent stabilized the situation.

4. Below 30-35 years of age.

5. Less, however, than the total figures would let be foreseen. The Christians, who are only 11% of the whole of our population, are 20% of the superior functionaries and

[162]

/28 cont./

employees and 15% of the
members of the teaching and
intellectual professions, etc.

369x
595
565
[162]

those concerning the extent of the family.

/29/ E. -- In the same general sense, the variations in the percentage of interethnic marriages are according to socio-occupational categories. For the whole of our population, we find: among the monogamous (696 families), 71% ménages where the wife is of the same ethnic group as the husband, 29% where she is from a different ethnic group; among the polygamous with two and three wives (228 families), 43% ménages where all the wives are of the same ethnic group as the husband, 57% ménages where at least one wife is from a different ethnic group. The following tables give the distribution by socio-occupational categories:
(tables on following pages)

369x
563
565

/74/

175 The major part of the commerce was then concentrated
369 north of the railway; nevertheless, as early as 1895 some
[366] shops were established to the south, near the residence.

In 1890 Thiès had a permanent population of 1,200
[162] inhabitants. Some native quarters were established in the
175 vicinity of the commercial escale. The little village of
369 Thiès-None was shifted from the other side of the railway.
361 A native quarter was attached to the western part of the commercial
zone; it was moved toward the south after the
plague of 1911 and took the name of Randoulème (a word
meaning in Wolof: remove yourself). Takhikao (storied
house in Wolof), established originally near the first storied
house belonging to Maurel and Prom, was ultimately pushed
back along the route to Saint-Louis (Fig. 2).

175 Little by little, while the military function fell asleep,
369 the development of commerce brought stable economic
[366] activity to the city. Until 1914 the city grew very little,
and its population amounted to only 2,400 inhabitants at that
[162] date; from 1885 to 1914 the city gained only 1,400 souls in
all.

The military function of the city recovered part of its
former importance during the war of 1914. The base of Thiès
[712] became a center of military training for new recruits. The
quarter of Diakhao adjoining the camp was enlarged by the
arrival of the families of the military. On the other hand,
commerce was threatened during this period. The French
175 personnel, which since the beginning of the century had been
369 permanently established, was summoned to the colors. In
441 order to avoid shutting up shop, the Levantines were called
563 upon. The latter had made their appearance in Senegal as
early as 1895 and up to that time had played only a very
secondary role in the market of the city: selling candles,
matches, beads... The war of 1914 facilitated their entry
into the lucrative activity of trade.

/74 cont./

369 3. The establishment of industries (1923-1945).

498 [175] The event which gave a decisive impulsion to the commercial escale and which brought Thiès to the rank of a city was without question the establishment of the railroad repair shops in 1923. As early as 1907 the first work had been undertaken to connect Thiès to Bamako directly by rail; difficulties of all kinds and then the war impeded it. In 1923 only the junction of the two sections had been made at Kidira on the Falémé. There was some concern to have the repair shops of the Thiès-Niger established in the center nearest the coast. Thiès, head of the line, was chosen as
● [162] the center. In a few years the city grew by 10,000 souls, going from 3,000 inhabitants in 1921 to 13,000 in 1929.

369 441 The opening of the railroad yards not only brought about the arrival of many workers and their families, but at the same /75/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ time gave a strong impulsion to commerce. The regular injection of credits by this new industry brought about a renewal of commercial activity which showed in the expansion of the firms already established and the creation of new stores. The Africans, who up
[472] [563] to that time worked solely for the profit of firms under European management and who had been kept out of the retail business, opened small shops for their own profit (4).

[177] 4. It is the military, it seems, who brought back from France this idea of establishing for themselves small grocery stores copied from those encountered in the villages of the mother country.

The latter, appealing to an essentially native clientele, multiplied as soon as the economic scope of the city increased. At the same time the number of artisans increased.

[563] After the war, the Levantines, who had been the only ones able to carry on commerce in complete tranquility for four years, set up businesses for themselves. Their experience

18: Savonnet--9 E-5 (ca.1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
Thies

/76 cont./

369
44.1
563 local products (groundnuts, millet ...) are bought or bartered for.

443 still almost empty quarter of the residence.

369
433
458 Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which assured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

[471]
[563] The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, resulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a readaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369
498
433 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies, the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an expansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369
● [162]
[511]
[361] On the eve of the Second World War the city reached the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans. The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/77 cont./
369 and attempted as far as possible to renovate the lines of its
361 architecture and to offer to its clientele pleasant salesrooms
with tastefully arranged windows and displays.

The native quarters for their part were enlarged and improved, penetrating deeply into the neighboring bush. The quarters of "Randoulène-Sud" /South Randoulene/, of "Grand Thiès" /Greater Thiès/, and of "Médina" were new creations. Diakhao and Takhikao develop. Some African officials and
[342] merchants have since begun some construction of small villas
in durable material that replace the traditional straw hut or
the simple plank hut.

● [162] The growth of the population was considerable; from
24,000 in 1945, it reached 40,000 inhabitants in 1953,
2,700 of whom were Europeans.

369 Thus, from the founding of the first military post near
433 the village of Thiès-None up to our time, the growth of
Thiès has been accomplished without any shocks. It has not known the great hopes of Dakar, the depressions, the failures of Rufisque and Saint-Louis. The /78/ wars, the crises are shown in the graph of its evolution only as simple plateaus (7).

369 Its fortune, as we have tried to show, comes from its
361 exceptional site at the entrance of the sole path of access to
433 the plateau of Thiès, along with the relative proximity of
Dakar. Through the action of these three essential functions, commercial, industrial, and military, it enjoys an economic equilibrium that seems more stable than that of the other cities of Senegal.

---

7. G. Savonnet, "Evolution démographique de la ville de Thiès /Demographic Evolution of the City of Thies/, "Notes africaines, pp. 122-124.

MS37
Thies

/83 cont./

3. The Activities of the City

1. Commerce.

433 If we except the period of conquest, during which a handful of troops established themselves in the entrenched camp, the primary function of Thiès was commerce.

441 433 An escale of trade in its beginnings, Thiès has remained that up to our times. Almost 25,000 tons of groundnuts are commercialized each year in spite of the opening of important points of trade in the vicinity, Tivaouane, Khombole, located some 30 kilometers from there. This commerce demands a certain taste for risk; if in certain years it offers appreciable profits, it sometimes renders the balance sheet of the merchants who practice it very precarious. The groundnut trade, as far as purchase from the producer is concerned, [563] [442] is almost entirely in the hands of the Levantines and a few Moors and Blacks. The important establishments, N.O.S.O.C.O. (8) and the Soucail firm, engage only in wholesale trade.

443 The factorerie run by a Levantine (9) next to the courtyard of the secco (10) has kept all its picturesqueness [438] up to our day. /84/ Everything is sold there, from the piece of trade cloth in vivid colors to cheap perfume; kerosene by the liter and millet by the kilo or sack are retailed there.

8. N.O.S.O.C.O. Nouvelle Société Commerciale.

● [162] [563] 9. The Levantines are 48 in number, namely, 23 Syrians and 25 Lebanese (figures of 1952).

[257] 10. Secco: mass of groundnuts stored in the courtyard of the merchant and destined for export.

/84 cont./

442 iron for cement, tires...piled loosely together. The activity
443 of these branches is based on three elements: retail with a
sales store open to the average customers, wholesale granted
to the important factoreries (Levantines...), and wholesale
to the small shopkeepers for retail. Each is furthermore an
implement dealer with exclusive right of sale granted to
them: frigidaires, motor fuel, automobiles...The figure
[433] for the monthly business of one of them fluctuated between
20 and 25 million in 1953.

An intermediate type of commerce was established a
443 [563] short time ago with the arrival of the Moroccans; they
numbered 25 in 1952. /85/ Some among them attempt to
● [162] corner both the European and native clientele. They specialize in the sale of fabrics and fancy articles for Africans:
[438] babouches, fezzes, cheap watches. They speak the native
[191] language fluently and sometimes French extremely well.

The Africans, as we have seen, have launched into
private business since 1920. Some of them have a factorerie
of the Levantine type, but most of them have opened a shop
in the outlying quarters. The Moors and the Blacks share
this small-scale commerce: in 1952 the former reached the
figure of 120; the Blacks were perhaps as numerous. They
[347] are installed in the small shops of boards or mud roofed
with straw or with corrugated metal. On the counter, made
up of a simple board, stands a Roberval scale, some jars of
large multicolored bonbons, a pasteboard box filled with dry
biscuits. The bag of charcoal on the floor stands beside a
tin of kerosene. Some cola nuts kept fresh in a wrapping of
leaves still green, a kilo of sugar broken open, which is sold
by the lump, some packages of cigarettes sold by the unit,
and small cans of condensed milk give a glimpse of the
small volume of their business.

To complete this picture, let us add the innumerable small "doorstep" merchants who on a piece of cloth or in a calabash display a few handfuls of roasted peanuts and cola nuts, a package of cigarettes, or millet fritters. These small stalls are all located in front of the door of the hut;

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

> 12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411). [434] [433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of [265] [275] [178] phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

> [317] [464] [162] 13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

---

[1] [ie, by "doorstep" merchants— ANALYST]

/86 cont./

498
[317]
[464]
[162]

hardly affect its economy because of the limited number of its workers (200 to 300) and above all the distance from the urban center.

concession of the Dakar-Niger located a short distance from the city would actually form the most important industrial center of French West Africa in terms of the number of its operatives (around 2,500 in 1952). [162] It groups within its enclosure a series of the most diverse workshops: woodworking shop, sawmill, assembly shops for railroad cars, tinsmith shop, and even a foundry. Putting new Diesel tractors into service has brought about the recent creation of new shops where manifold improved machines operate. Power is taken from a high tension line of 30,000 volts coming from Dakar. [377] The enterprise annually consumes 1,700,000 kilowatt-hours, that is to say, more than the total consumption of the city itself. The much smaller consumption of coke and of fuel oil used in the furnace and cupolas of the foundries should be added here.

The workshops of the Dakar-Niger present themselves in the form of an industry with vertical integration of an incomplete type. The distance from the mother country, the expenses and above all the slowness of shipments (principally during the last World War) have brought about the installation of an industrial complex that makes it possible to satisfy the greater part of the demands of the work required for the smooth functioning of the service. All the woodworking is carried out in the sawmill-carpentry section; the cars are assembled from imported chassis, wheels, and bogies. Most of the parts of the locomotives can be smelted in Thiès, except when it is a matter of special alloys. Certain elements demanding a machine-finishing precision of 1/100 of a millimeter for Diesel tractors have already been manufactured by the enterprise. Only the parts requiring very special techniques or machines for their manufacture, or whose

MS37
Thies
Wolof MS30

S /86 cont./

498 manufacturing cost would be high if they were smelted in Senegal, are bought on the outside.

S
498
463
563 Originally the repair work, the machining of locomotive parts or of rolling stock, necessitated only the presence of good mechanics. But putting into service more powerful engines that no longer run on charcoal but on fuel oil requires /87/ precise inspection and minute repairs made by experienced specialists. Most of them are still Europeans, but already some Africans have the technical training required for this delicate work.

S
[162] The enterprise, however, has only a small percentage of Whites: out of 2,500 railway workers there were only 140 Europeans in 1953. And most of them worked in the offices (one European to eight natives); in the workshops this proportion reached only one to 40. While most of the metropolitan specialists are taken from the staffs of the S.N.C.F., S [874] the African specialists are recruited from among the students coming from the technical schools of Terrasson-de-Fougères in Bamako or William-Ponty in Dakar and from among the former mechanics of the arsenals of the national marine. They constitute the supervisory staffs in the different shops.

The ordinary workers, founders, hammermen, carpenters ...., have generally been trained in the very workshops of the Dakar-Niger where they work for a number of years. Finally, the non-specialized work is done by newcomers from the bush.

S
498
563
W
498
162
463 An investigation carried out in 1952 on a quarter of the total number (834) enables one to learn the ethnic composition of all the workshops. One can note a preeminence of the number of Wolof (301); the Peul and Toucouleur /Tukolor/ number 189; the Bambara come third with 115 individuals. It is necessary to add 39 Sarakolé, 40 Khassonké /Kassonke/, and 79 workers belonging to different groups. This list gives an idea of the important mingling of individuals that make up this industrial center. One observes, nevertheless, that the

/88 cont./

871 Education has developed in a remarkable fashion; each year more than 2,000 school children attend the public and private schools. The number of young pupils also has increased steadily, but only for the past dozen years. The modern college, because of its inadequate size, refuses numerous requests for admission every year. In spite of the annual opening of new classes, it can be estimated that only one child out of three of school age attends school.

369

4. The Social Structure of the City

563

1. The Whites.

In 1955 we are far from the heroic epoch when Thiès was considered an unhealthy place and when the mortality was very high. The arrival of the first European families at the beginning of this century could be considered an important event. It marked the possibility of permanently implanting a white colony in the escale.

The climate has been made more bearable by the many improvements in comfort that have created a propitious atmosphere for the establishment of family life. [162] In 1953 there were almost 1,200 women out of 2,700 Whites.

369 563 573 The European population is divided into a certain number of "milieus": army, operatives of the Dakar-Niger, officials, merchants. Contact between any of these assemblages is very loose: with few exceptions the relations between individuals belonging to different groups are not very frequent; there is visiting only among people of the same background. The transfer of personnel, which is repeated every two years, has the result that the time of residence is not ordinarily long enough for a newcomer to break away from his milieu. A certain apathy and a lack of curiosity limit these human contacts with neighboring groupings.

The armed forces, and Dakar-Niger, because of the very conception of their internal organization, live in isolation. Each of them has its co-operative, its club, its

MS37
Thies
Wolof MS30

S /89 cont./

369 not left Africa for 30 or 40 years. Others, more favored by
563 business, take a trip each year to France or western Asia.
573 Generally, the children pursue their studies in their parents'
[484] land of origin and speak French and English fluently. This new generation of Levantines, to whom one must add a few
[191] Moroccans, is becoming integrated little by little in the
[529] metropolitan milieu through the medium of sports associations and hunting parties. These amicable relations will
[578] perhaps favor to a certain degree a closer relationship between
[477] these groups which are so often antagonistic on the commercial level.

/90/

2. The Africans.

S According to the census statistics gathered in 1953, the
369 ethnic composition of the city was the following: out of an
563 African population of 36,050 inhabitants, the Wolof appeared
●162 as the most numerous and, with 23,624 individuals, made
W up 65.5% of the population; the Toucouleur, numbering
[162] 3,356, represent 9.3% of the total; the Bambara (Sudanese, rather) attained third place and accounted for 6.8% of the
[369] population with 2,447 individuals; the Sérère, although settled in the vicinity of Thiès, included only 1,856 persons, namely, 5.1% of the total. The Peul and the Moors, respectively 1,074 and 843 individuals, made up 3% and 2.4% of the total. The Sarakolé and the various other groups, represented, respectively, by 650 and 2,190 members, formed 1.8% and 6.1% of the population.

W These details speak eloquently of the ethnic hetero-
[162] geneity of the Thiès population. Still, it should be empha-
[369] sized that the number of true Wolof is certainly less than the statistical figure given; after a stay of some ten years spent
[563] in Thiès, the Khassonké or the Sarakolé, who will have lost almost all contact with his country of origin, who will have married a woman not of his race, who will have adopted the language, the food, the corresponding Wolof name, will speak of himself as belonging to this group.

/91 cont./
369 families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse
177 of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and
563 Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the
[584] too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of
[593] ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/
urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but
[182] with less force and with a certain delay.

369 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger,
565 on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a
178 working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon.
Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human
contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted
for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition
of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already
[177] being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid
[467] diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of
workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up
[474] consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of
the members of this worker group, the workshops of the
Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès
itself have become the most active and the busiest centers
of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed
[468] railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--
Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence
of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical
urban phenomenon.

369 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social
563 climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites
578 and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social
crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically
disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 A much more important problem that seems general
161 in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if
not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have
[162] seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from
1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants).
Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same
proportions.

/92 cont./

369 166 [162] All of the new elements that swell the urban quarters are young elements coming from the country; 32% of the population is made up of young people less than 14 years of age (15) whom the so-called facilities of the city have attracted. The countryside is being drained of its energetic elements and the city does not have enough work to give to those who come to settle there. [464 574] A class of idlers and parasites is forming little by little, living on either the generous African hospitality or by expedients. This aspect of the social problem of the large African cities is one of the more urgent to be solved.

369 168 The public authorities are disturbed by this enormous swelling of the urban populations, which far exceeds the actual needs. It seems that none of the methods adopted up to now for decreasing them /93/ have given appreciable results. Perhaps the efforts that are now being made to improve the conditions of rural life and promote some modernization of agricultural techniques will allow the economic capacity of the countryside to increase and will curb the rural exodus. Greater stability among the urban population would then permit the establishment of more coherent and better balanced social structures.

Georges Savonnet.

---

15. In France this percentage is 24%, the figure estimated according to the census statistics given in the review Population, Oct.-Dec. 1954, p. 718.

/22 cont./
258 product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese
[433] factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity.
[439] About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional
technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the
oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more
by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate
of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five
urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and
[464] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly
[563] 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it
is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since
[388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-
making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap
from the neutralization paste.

258 The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making
433 represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the
country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of
[439] trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product
that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has
become the principal raw material of local industry; more than
ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 3. The essential position of the groundnut in the economy
of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of
241 Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of
groundnuts." This phrase by M. Portères sums up the essential
position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the
[439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to
21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut
accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than
15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of
● [162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricul-
tural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually,
433 however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in
trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

/372/

369 [361] "Dakar is the only city, in the European (or Western) sense, in all of West Africa," wrote D. Wittlesey in 1941 (1).

Things have changed since then; Conakry, Bamako, Abidjan, and other centers have become true cities. It is incontestable [162] that the 230,000 inhabitants counted in the census in 1955, of whom more than 30,000 were non-Africans, make Dakar the [563] most important city in all of the Black Africa of French expression. In 1957 its port had more traffic than all the other ports [505] of former French West Africa; in 1960, 8,000 vessels, with a capacity of 21,000,000 tons (2), put it among the most frequented [162] ports of Africa. But 50 years ago Dakar did not have 25,000 inhabitants. The rhythm of its growth is thus on a level with that of certain mushrooming cities in the United States of America. Dakar does not owe this extraordinarily rapid development solely to favorable natural conditions, as is often said, but also and especially to a complex interaction of historical, economic, and political factors. It is a crossroads born out of the effective integration of the African world and South America in the European economic system, an integration linked with the search for raw materials and markets, made possible and necessary by the great technical progress realized since the middle of the nineteenth century. City-crossroads, all of its vitality depends on the state of its relations.

[133] 1. Birth of Dakar. The head of the peninsula of Cape Verde, on which Dakar was established, is an assemblage of

---

[113] 1. Derwint Wittlesey, "Dakar and other Cap Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, 1941, p. 609.

2. The official figures are 7,948 vessels and 20,992,111 tons.

square kilometer nevertheless satisfied a double /374/ /Fig. 1 appears here / concern of the Hollanders, security and commerce: security first for the ships, which could find an excellent anchorage in the bay on the northeast of the island, immediately so appreciated that its excellence -- Goede
[103] reede, "the good roadstead" in Dutch -- served to designate the establishment under the name of Gorée (8) in distinguishing it from the other islands of the peninsula; and then, security for the occupants. From this point of view, the insularity would have been a great advantage for the site of Dakar. Finally, with regard to commerce, the island of Gorée, although minuscule, sufficed for barter with the natives of the coast and could well fill its role as a warehouse for products and slaves. As soon as these views were confirmed by the facts, Gorée became the object of competition among the Hollanders, French, and British, finally coming to the French. In spite of
[439] this changing of hands, the establishment of Gorée, thanks to
●[162] the slave trade, /375/ prospered, and around 1845 it harbored
[567] more than 5,000 persons. The abolition of the trade, and then that of slavery, around the middle of the century dealt it a mortal blow, bringing about a crisis from which Gorée did not recover. There was indeed an attempt at adaptation to the new conditions, the Goréans trying to make the island a place for commerce with the continent, where the cultivation of the groundnut had already developed, but on this point Gorée could not rival the peninsula. The inhabitants understood it; there were those who encouraged the occupation of Dakar with the idea

---

369 /373 cont./
175 presqu'île du Cap-Vert,"
[113] op. cit., p. 274

8. Nora and Ch. Toupet,
[113] "L'origine du nom de Gorée,"
in Notes Africaines, January 1959,
pp. 17-20, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

/377 cont./

369 that Dakar is designated above all as a port d'escale, "a service
439 station," of the tropical Atlantic, provisioning the ships with
504 water and, above all, combustibles; the latter, represented in
former times by coal in particular, are now almost entirely
made up of hydrocarbides, the export and import traffic of which
sometimes represents more than double that of merchandise:
211.1% in 1954, 233.6% in 1955, 186% in 1959.

369 But, beyond this role as a port d'escale, Dakar thrust ahead
439 as a metropolis, governing a large region. In fact it is via Dakar
487 that food products (rice, flour, sugar, etc.), cloth and thread,
industrial products, etc. come in, principally destined for Senegal,
Mauritania, and the Sudan, which, in return, send groundnuts,
gum, hides wax, etc. to it for export. This situation is the result
of struggles in the recent past between Dakar and the old mari-
[505] time or river ports which shared the light traffic of former times.
The construction of the port and modern means of communica-
tion with the interior permitted Dakar to eliminate its rivals
very quickly.

369 The establishment of Gorée, caught in a crisis since the
[505] abolition of slavery, despite the resistance, at first active and
then passive, of its municipality (13), has been practically
eliminated from the economic circuit since the accomplishment
of the great work of the commercial port. Business then emigrated
•[162] to the continent, while the city went to sleep, losing more and
more of its population; from 3,200 inhabitants in 1872, it went
to 2,068 in 1891, 1,249 in 1910, 998 in 1921, so that the com-
[633] mune was abolished and attached to Dakar in 1929, and then
the entire island was classified as a historical monument in 1944.

---

[113] 13. In the work by J. Charpy (La Fondation de Dakar /The Founding of Dakar/, Larose, Paris, 1958), there is a series of documents on the various aspects of this resistance.

/381 cont./

369 larger than that of Paris. In Dakar, this function as a metrop-
648 olis, which has been confirmed since the construction of the
633 commercial port, preceded and conditioned the development
of the city.

369 3. The city. The commercial affairs which thus make
166 African products and products from the outside converge toward
167 the Dakar crossroads could not fail to bring with them a great
[487] number of people. First, there are the Goréans, finally resigned
to their fate, who accompany or follow the commercial or
administrative establishments being transferred to Dakar; then,
non-Africans, administrators, technicians, merchants, etc.,
usually arriving from Europe by the same route as that of the
imported manufactured products. But above all there are the
masses who arrive by road and by rail, by these paths of a
money economy which have greatly disturbed the villagers'
traditional institutions and thus communicated to the people
a mobility formerly unknown in the rural world. Willingly or
unwillingly, the rural people of Senegal, of the Sudan, of Upper
Guinea, and of the Upper Volta take to the road and rails to
cast themselves into an /382/ /Fig. 3 appears here/ /383/
adventurous existence which will lead many of them to Dakar
and to settle there. Finally, Africans from Guinea, the Ivory
Coast, and Dahomey, students at the large educational insti-
tutions and officials who come in connection with the functions
of the federal capital, also arrive by sea.

369 This human convergence, which since the last decade of
162 the century has continued to grow, has caused a vertiginous in-
crease in the population. To be sure, for the period before 1955
[633] there were only estimations, all the less certain because the
boundaries of the commune have often changed, but the offi-
cial figures (18), even though they should be corrected here or

---

[113] 18. Synthèse de la situation économique
de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à

/383 cont./

369 162 [113] 1958. op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 35: 1910, 24,000; 1921, 32,000; 1931, 54,000; 1945, 132,000; 1955-56, 231,000.

[633] there, nevertheless give an acceptable idea of the direction of the development of the population of Dakar. The first 20 years that followed the construction of the port were characterized by a not very spectacular progression, the population merely having doubled, going from 24,900 in 1910 to 54,000 in 1931. This relative slowness of growth should undoubedly be attributed to some check due to the First World War, but it is basically explained by the then very imcomplete [496] character of the modern paths of penetration, the railroads from Thiès to Kayes and from Louga to Linguère not having been finished until after the war. By contrast, the progression has been particularly rapid in the 20 years that followed, and, in spite of the checks that would seemingly have been put into operation by the Second World War, the population has more than quadrupled between 1931 and 1955, reaching 230,000 inhabitants at the latter date (19).

[113] 19. Recensement démographique de Dakar 1955. Résultats définitifs, 1er fascicule /Demographic census of Dakar for 1955. Final Results, No. 1/. Publication of the Service de la statistique de l'ex-A.O.F., July 1958. The following figures given for the population of Dakar have been taken from this number or have been calculated from the figures that it gives.

369 563 162 This Dakar population, very diverse in its make-up, is an almost complete sampling of the ethnic groups of Senegal, to which are added elements from the other territories of former French West Africa and also some non-Africans. Thus, jostling

[Text continues on p. 20--Analyst]

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36
102 a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de
491 Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau cross-
496 roads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General
504 Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. --
712 VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of
743 the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African
Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. --
XIV. Camp Galliéni. -- XV. Station.

369 /383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/,
563 Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé,
● 162 etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113] 20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a
[166] region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there, /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10%
[744] children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," *op. cit.*, p. 630.

162 /384 cont. /

369 563 [744] [132] breeding-places of mosquitoes in the numerous swamps of the peninsula having been successfully undertaken by the federal authorities, one can better appreciate the exceptionally pleasant climate of Dakar, subject eight months of the year to the "influences of the Canaries" (cool and brisk current, marine trade-wind from the northeast), and an equilibrium tends to be established between men, women, and children, the first nevertheless still remaining the most numerous; in 1955, 39% men against 31% women and 30% children for the total non-African population; and 35% men, 30% women, and 35% children for the non-African population in residence. Among the Africans, one can verify the same phenomenon: 36% men, 31% women, and 35% children less than 14 years of age for the total population; 34% men, 31% women, and 35% children for the population in residence. Despite this tendency toward equilibrium, the fact remains that for the whole population of Dakar, men over 14 years of age are definitely more numerous than women over 14 years of age and than children; the balance sheet gives 37% for the men as against 30% for the women and 35% for the children.

369 563 166 162 This situation is explained by the fact that immigration to Dakar is first of all of interest to the men, for whom it carries the hope of a better position, but it also represents a daring enterprise on which one does not take women and children until definite opportunities for settling down present themselves. This fact is particularly clear for the non-resident population, among whom the proportion of men is very high. Thus, among the non-resident Africans, there are 57% men as against 27% women and 16% children. The proportion is even higher among non-resident foreigners: 77% men as against 12% women and 11 % children.

[464] But though settling in Dakar is almost always linked to employment for the non-African population, it is not the same for Africans. The destruction of the villagers' traditional institutions, modern transportation, the facilities for hospitality

/384 cont./

369 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend
563 or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resi-
166 dent originally from the same village or merely from the same
●162 region -- all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are
464 more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among
the resident non-Africans the number of persons employed
amounts to 43 % of the total and 64% of the economically
active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers
is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the econom-
ically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average
369 much higher among the first than among the second, one finds
511 in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African
563 cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high
standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of
their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African
population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correl-
ative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings
nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which
gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters,
an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the
interior.

369 This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the
563 normal category of West African cities, where a white city and
a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result
[361]

[113] 22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms
of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the
bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high
[465] price of rent -- the non-Africans being nearly always lodged by
their employers. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly
Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

/388 cont./

369 361 as the Plateau. The low quarters that border the avenue Malick Sy and which are crossed by the route de l'Abbattoir /Slaughterhouse Road/ quite obviously differ from the rest. In Rebeus and [363] in Niayes-Thioker, few of the streets are paved, and, during [364] winter, ponds where household debris rots often surround the low permanent houses and the neighboring huts.

[162] [563] Dakar-ville has only 46,000 inhabitants, among whom are almost two-thirds of the 30,000 non-Africans of Dakar.

Gorée, the fallen capital, which has become a military, tourist, and, to a slight extent, residential annex of Dakar, is attached to this section.

[563] [764] 2. The Médina. Containing practically only Africans, the Médina is much more densely populated than Dakar-ville. Blocked on the west by the Moslem cemetery and on the north by the canal of the Gueule-Tapée, the Médina has not ceased stretching toward the east since its creation during the First World War. It presents several aspects: the oldest part, east [363] of the avenue Blaise-Diagne, has all of its streets paved and planted with trees; it has few huts, and permanent houses are [364] erected almost everywhere there; many sanitary facilities and public fountains complement the private establishments and make this quarter relatively clean and pleasant (Fig. 4 and Pl. XXII B).[1]

The farther one goes toward the east, however, beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne, the newer the quarter is and the more it gives the appearance of a wretched village. Thus, between [363] [364] the avenue Blaise-Diagne and the Gendarmerie, although some principal arteries are paved, most of the streets remain sandy and obstructed with household rubbish. Moreover, one notes some permanent houses here and there, to be sure, but huts are much more numerous. East of the Gendarmerie, Colobane is even less well arranged, while, beyond the automobile road, Kip-Coco and Quartier Mous, veritable camp cities for new arrivals, are called "irregular quarters," that is to say, quarters temporarily tolerated, although no right of the inhabitants to settle there can be recognized (Pl. XXIII A).[2] /Pl. XXIII and

[1] [See category 116, p.16 -- Analyst]

[2] [See Category 116, p.29 -- Analyst]

/388 cont./
369 Pl. XXIV appear here on unnumbered pages/. /389/ /Fig. 5
361 appears here./

3. Greater Dakar. Of all the sectors of the Dakar agglomeration,
Greater Dakar is certainly the one that presents the
sharpest contrasts. The quarter of the "Gueule-Tapée" resembles
the old Médina, while Fass and "Usine Biscuit" /Biscuit Factory/
remind one of Colobane, but aside from these there stand some
modern quarters that are quite varied in appearance, contrasting
strongly with the "Médinas," the "Colobanes," and the irregular
quarters that surround them. It is in this sector of Greater Dakar
[873] that the University is found, raising its majestic buildings on the
edge of the sea. It is flanked on the north by the rich quarter of
Fann-Résidence where the residences of ministers and members
of their cabinets, directors of houses of commerce, and high
officials are grouped; to the south military villas and the allotment
of Fann Hock separate it from the Gueule-Tapée. Point
E, Zone A, Zone B, /390/ the Cité des Douanes /customs/,
and that of the Port de Commerce are officials' quarters, while
Bopp, formerly a swamp, has in recent years become a pretty
little quarter, all the houses of which were built by officials
[452] with the aid of the Crédit du Sénégal /Local Association of Senegal/.
The S.I.C.A.P. which extend along the route des Puits /Roads
of the Wells/ (Karacks, Baobabs, Liberté I, Liberté II, Liberté
III, etc.) are pleasant lots intended to facilitate for Africans the
acquisition of property (Fig. 5).

Finally, the quarter of Derklé forms, in several groupings of houses, a residence for petty African officials, another one for the African employees of private enterprises, and finally a quarter called the "Castors," the houses of which have been built by their associated and grouped owners with the aid of the public authorities.

Greater Dakar is the most extensive and the heaviest populated
[162] sector in the Dakar agglomeration. It includes more than
[563] 73,000 inhabitants, among whom is numbered one-sixth of the
non-African population.

[Text continues bottom of p. 31--Analyst]

/389/

102
361
363
873
712

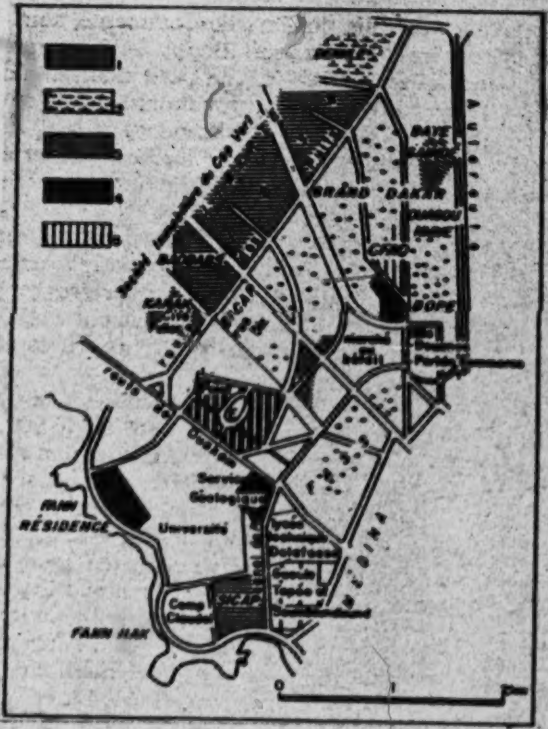

1
2
3
4
5
GRAND DAKAR
SICAP
Service Géologique
FANN RÉSIDENCE
Université
SICAP
FANN HAK
MEDINA
0
1

Fig. 5. Greater Dakar. --1. Officials' quarter;
2. Derklé; 3. H.L.M.; 4. houses of officials;
5. loan grouping.

/390 cont./

361
369
4. The suburbs. The suburbs of Dakar are composed of 13 villages, of which those closest to Dakar, Ouakam, N'Gor, Yoff, Hann, Thiaroye, and M'Bao resemble Colobane. The others remain typical traditional villages. Only Dagoudane-Pikime escapes either category. Created ex nihilo less than ten years ago to serve as an outlet for the irregulars of Dakar who were to be found there, driven back as urbanism progressed, [162] it already has the appearance of a little city with its 10,000 inhabitants.

/390 cont./
361 inhabitants. It had an official center and wide streets, which,
369 however, are not yet paved. Despite this city appearance,
[363] however, Pikine is more intimately dependent on Dakar than
the other villages of the suburbs; it is a workman's suburb, and
all of its provisioning comes from Dakar, while practically all
of its inhabitants are employed in the great city. With this
exception, the villages of the suburbs have as their essential
[438] role the provisioning of Dakar with fish and fresh vegetables.
Many transportation facilities in common connect them with
[489] Dakar-ville from very early in the morning until around the
middle of the night (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A and B).

This is the arrangement or juxtaposition of the various
elements of the Dakar agglomeration, whose present population
¶[162] may well have exceeded 300,000 inhabitants.

369 4. Perspectives. The Dakar agglomeration has the appearance of an unfinished city in the process of being organized, even though its function as a West African metropolis has been confirmed for a long time. There are surprises in this situation for those who analyze the old European urban civilizations, where one sees an ancient city existing as /391/ /Fig. 6 appears here/ one that patiently developed its relations in order to become a metropolis and to constitute a solid and dynamic assemblage where urban and metropolitan functions mutually support one another. Dakar, however, is above
369 all a center of relations which has woven with its hinterland
439 connections that have the appearance of complementary ties,
433 but which actually are ties of dependence: dependence in
fact because in the Senegalese and Sudanese interior the development of export crops is tied up with the means of evacuation organized by Dakar; dependence also because the export crops, in breaking up the former village autarchy, have given Dakar the role of a great relay-station in the importation of food products in compensation and manufactured products which have become a necessity there where formerly they were unknown; dependence, finally, not only for the Senegalese and

/1/

125 During the years 1960 and 1961, a demographic investigation by sampling was undertaken over the whole territory, the first one in the history of Senegal. (Administrative counts, city censuses, and an investigation in the central valley of the river /Senegal River/ had been made previously, but never a demographic inquiry covering the whole territory.)

[369] [162] The country has been divided into two large parts: the urban zone, composed of the whole region of Cape Verde and the cities of Thiès, Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Diourbel, and Louga; and the rural zone, which includes the rest of the territory. The sampling fraction was 1/50 in the rural zone and 1/20 in the urban zone. Subsequently a sampling to the twentieth was obtained by dividing into two a certain number of maps of the rural zone.

It will be seen merely from the method utilized that it renders illusory the study of small groups /groupes à effectif réduit/. It should be acknowledged from the first that the numbers below 500 (that is, 25 in the sample) are not significant.

II - The Structures:

III - The geographic distribution:

114 The operations in the field begun in the month of April 1960 were terminated in the month of August 1961 (April-June '60 for the rural zone, July '60 to August '61 /2/ for the urban zone). 162 It should be acknowledged that on the whole the numbers indicated below correspond to the situation on the date of 1 July 1960. (Table 1 on following page)

This table shows, on the one hand, the low average density and, on the other hand, its great variability.

[563] The non-African population is made up essentially of French and Lebano-Syrians. It is heavily concentrated in the urban zone and particularly in Cape Verde; 74% of the non-Africans of Senegal are actually in residence there. 161 648 Moreover, this concentration has become accentuated in recent years for several reasons: the departure of the Senegalese and Mauritanian governments from Saint-Louis; the closing of a number of agencies in the interior following the Change in The commercial Circuits.

Table 1 - Over-all Results - Resident Population

Region	Africans	Non-Africans	Total	Area (km^2)	Density per km^2
Cape Verde	397,940	45,640	443,580	550	807
Casamance	528,900	960	529,860	28,350	19
Diourbel	500,980	2,180	503,160	33,547	15
River	342,620	2,780	345,400	44,127	8
Senegal-Oriental	151,080	--	151,080	59,602	2.5
Sine-Saloum	721,040	6,060	727,100	23,945	30
Thiès	405,580	4,080	409,660	6,601	62
Senegal	3,048,140	61,700	3,109,840	196,172	16

Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Tukolor MS29

/2 cont./

000 change in the commercial circuits.

S 162 /3/ It should not be without interest to give an idea of the peopling of the various regions by ethnic groups. (Table 2 on following pages)

W [162] It is shown that the Ouoloff /Wolof/ constitute more than a third of the total population. This group is abundantly represented in most of the regions, with the exception of Casamance and Senegal-Oriental. It is known that their arrival has determined the growth of the population of Dakar. It is not impossible that persons belonging to other ethnic groups but speaking Ouoloff have been given as Ouoloff.

SR [162] The Sérère /Serer/ are second in rank from a numerical standpoint. They are relatively grouped in Sine-Saloum and in the region ot Thiès.

T [162] /4/ The Toucouleur /Tukolor/, the majority of whom are in the river region, are scattered throughout the territory; they are, however, less numerous in the region of Diourbel.

W [162] One can also note that the Casamance groups scarcely ever wander away from their region of origin except to come to Dakar, and that the Lébou are largely concentrated in Cape Verde.

S [563] Concerning the non-Africans, whose concentration at Dakar has already been mentioned, one will note the presence of a Lebano-Syrian group in the region of Kaolack and a French group in Saint-Louis and Thiès.

S [369] The population of Senegal is still essentially rural, but the urbanization movement, which is noted in all of the regions by reason of the diversification of economic activity and especially the industrial development, is particularly marked there. This factor will greatly modify the geographical distribution of the population during the coming years.

The following table gives the population of the cities which constitute the urban zone. (Table 3 follows Table 2.)

/5/ In sum, the urban population is close to 705,000 inhabitants and represents 23% of the whole. Dakar alone has 12% of the population of Senegal, which is not abnormal. But

/3 cont./

Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Tukolor MS27
Diola FA14
Fulani MS11

SW SR T-DF 162

Table 2 - Total Population - Principal Ethnic Groups

Numbers in thousands

Ethnic Group	Cape Verde	Casamance	Diourbel	River	Senegal-Orient	Sine-Saloum	Thiès	Senegal
Ouoloff	204	14	367	86	3	253	176	1.103
Sérère, Niominka	26	1	73	1	-	316	178	595
Toucouleur	50	56	4	229	22	47	14	422
Peulh, Foulah, Laobé	25	22	39	13	56	61	14	230
Diola, Baïnouk	8	203	0	0	-	4	1	216
Other Casamanceans (Manjacque, Mancagne, Balante)	6	93	0	0	-	1	1	101
Bambara, Mandingue, Socè, Malinké	15	117	1	4	34	22	5	198

(cont.)

•162
S
563

S
50
W

/3 cont./

21: Verriere--5 G-5 (1960-1961) 1963 MS37 Senegal MS37
Soninke MS21
Wolof MS30

Table 2 Cont.

Ethnic Group	Cape Verde	Casamance	Diourbel	River	Senegal-Orient	Sine-Saloum	Thiès	Senegal
Sarakolé	6	17	1	2	32	5	2	65
Moors	8	1	16	6	0	8	9	48
Lébou	37	-	0	-	0	3	2	42
Other Groups of Black Africa	12	5	0	1	5	3	3	29
Europeans	30	1	0	2	-	1	4	38
Lebano-Syrians	10	-	1	-	-	4	0	15
Eurafricans (Cape-Verdeans)	6	0	0	1	-	0	-	7
Misc.	1	-	0	0	-	0	0	1
Total	444	530	503	345	151	727	410	3,110

/4 cont./

162
[563]

Table 3 - Population of the Cities of the Urban Zone (1)

City	Africans	Non-Africans	Total
Dakar	336,580	38,120	374,700
Kaolack	68,160	1,400	69,560
Thiès	66,940	2,200	69,140
Rufisque-Bargny	48,280	1,380	49,660
Saint-Louis	47,700	1,140	48,840
Ziguinchor	29,520	340	29,840
Diourbel	27,820	740	28,560
Louga	16,120	160	16,280

1. The total population of these cities does not correspond exactly to the population of the urban zone given below, because all of the region of Cape Verde, including the cantons of Sangalkam and Sébikotane, has been included in the urban zone.

/5 cont./ it is necessary to take note of the fact that Dakar has been in existence scarcely more than 75 years. Its rate of [161] growth, remarkably stable since 1890, stays at between 6% and 7% per year. At this rate, Dakar will have 1,275,000 inhabitants in 20 years and will contain a quarter of the inhabitants of Senegal.

The rural population is about 2,390,000 inhabitants distributed in 13,000 communes or villages. The average population of a village is thus less than 200 inhabitants. This fact is not unimportant, because this great dispersion increases the "general expenses" of the nation, if one can use this term. It is obvious that instruction in schools, for example, is more costly when settlements are dispersed, whether the classes have an attendance lower than is normal or whether it is necessary to arrange for collecting the students. There is thus reason for encouraging regroupings as much as possible.

[p395]

CHAPTER VIII

SENEGAL AND THE DISTRICT OF DAKAR

1. GENERAL

Senegal. Area: 77,220 square miles. Population (1937): 1,666,374. Density per square mile: 21·58. Capital: St. Louis. 161

District of Dakar. Area: 66 square miles. Population (1937): 126,929. Density per square mile: 1,923·16. Headquarters: Dakar. [131] [162] [633]

ALTHOUGH it has fewer inhabitants than most of the other colonies and a lower density of population than Dahomey or the Ivory Coast, Senegal is the most important of all the members of the Federation. Much of the colony is semi-desert, but the remainder is closely settled by some of the most vigorous and progressive peoples of French West Africa. Most of the native citizens are Senegalese, and the fame of the tirailleurs is known in every land. The colony contains some of the earliest French settlements, and its honourable position is attested by the fact that it alone in the Federation sends a direct representative to the Chamber of Deputies at Paris. [101] 162 648

The full title of the District of Dakar is the *Circonscription de Dakar et Dépendences*. Besides the town of Dakar it includes Goree, Rufisque, the territory round them, and a few small enclaves inside Senegal. One of these enclaves is at Sebikotane, where is situated the William Ponty School. The District has been a separate political entity since 1924, and its Administrator is not responsible to the Governor of Senegal. 633

The British colony of the Gambia has all its land frontiers with Senegal. 131

The greatest distance from north to south in Senegal is 249 miles, and the greatest from west to east is 365 miles. The colony extends from 12° 19′ N. to 16° 42′ N. and from 17° 20′ W. to 11° 20′ W. The extreme west of the Cape Verde peninsula is 17° 32′ W.

Boundaries. The Atlantic Ocean forms the main western boundary. The only exceptions to this are the frontier with the Gambia and the boundary between Senegal and Dakar. The latter leaves the coast at 14° 49′ N. and runs roughly south-south-east until it is 2 miles from Goree bay. There it turns east and afterwards south to strike the bay 1 mile east of Rufisque.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

175 after severe fighting, and in 1863 Fouta and Toro were definitely
S annexed by the French.

W *Cayor*. The state of Cayor extended from Cape Verde northward
175 along the coast nearly to St. Louis, and at the end of the eighteenth
648 century it had obtained independence of the Ouolofs. Goree had
been taken by the French from the Dutch in 1677, and by treaties of
W 1764 and 1765 the Damel of Cayor had ceded the tip of the Cape
[635] Verde peninsula in full sovereignty to France. He had further agreed
to restrain his subjects from pillaging the cargoes of wrecks and from
imprisoning their crews. In return he was to receive an annual
subsidy of 180 bars, one-third in iron and the remainder in merchandise.

These treaties, however, had never been implemented. In 1825
Governor Roger considered them dead, and advised Frenchmen who
wished to acquire land in the peninsula to make their own arrangements
with the native authorities. At the same time, Roger made a
fresh convention regarding wrecks, which was no more observed
S than the earlier treaties. In 1832 land was purchased for a cemetery
W on the mainland and in 1846 a mission of the Society of the Sacred
[797] Heart, which received a government subsidy until 1906, was established
S at Dakar.

●[162] The population of Goree, some 5,000 persons, needed wood, water,
building materials, and fresh provisions, which they could only purchase
W at extortionate prices on the mainland. All efforts to conclude
[439] agreements with the chiefs on these matters failed, and wreckers'
profits were not to be diminished by scraps of paper. Security was
needed for the projected railway from St. Louis and it was desirable
S to give the priests protection. In 1857, therefore, the French
[712] Government authorized the construction of a fort on the mainland.
Birahima, the reigning Damel of Cayor, at first acquiesced in this
occupation, largely because his authority over the Lebous who
inhabited the peninsula had long been but nominal. The post was
S used by Faidherbe for a base for his operations in 1859. In that year,
[712] after the battle of Fatik (18 May), the tribesmen of Sine, Saloum, and
Baol submitted to French authority, and posts were created at Joal
and Kaolack. Trouble arose under the Damel's successor, Makodou,
who refused to recognize Birahima's agreement to allow a French
road and telegraph line from St. Louis to Goree to be run through
Cayor. A French column from St. Louis under Faidherbe met an
expedition under Pinet-Laprade from Goree and occupied Makodou's
capital, Mekhé, on 12 January 1861. On 1 February he accepted

At this stage no French taxation was imposed. Faidherbe was the first 175
to insist that the election of any chiefs must be subject to his approval, 648
and from this time onwards the French hold gradually grew tighter. As the French historian Sabatié has put it:

> 'These treaties guaranteed the political organization, the religion, customs, institutions, and laws of the native country concerned. They were designed to ensure the security of our commerce and respect for the property of our nationals and our subjects, and they stipulated, by way of compensation, the collection of certain taxes on cattle and exported products for the benefit of chiefs. As a result of the evolution of the colony and its economic and administrative necessities, the clauses and obligations of these treaties have lapsed.'

The system lasted until towards the end of the nineteenth century; but from that time onwards native powers, especially over judicial matters, land, and tribute, have been gradually curtailed. Native chiefs have become agents appointed by the Government, and native administrative institutions have almost everywhere been deliberately abolished. This policy has its roots not only in administrative convenience but also in a strong sense of duty to the individual native and a desire to protect him from misrule.

The Modern Constitution

Until 1920 the four communes of Dakar, Goree, Rufisque, and 631
St. Louis were described as the territory under direct administration, 633
the remainder of the colony as a protectorate. In that year the distinction, which had long been one without a difference, was formally abolished.

Senegal, being the oldest colony, contains about a quarter of the 641
whole European population of French West Africa. It also contains
a larger proportion of educated and politically minded natives than [162]
the other colonies, and its constitution is more democratic. This last fact is mainly due to the equalitarian doctrines of the July Monarchy at the time when the personal status of Senegalese native citizens and their rights as Frenchmen were determined. In 1833 the French Parliament enacted that any person born free, or having legally
acquired his liberty, enjoyed in the French colonies both civil and [648]
political rights under conditions prescribed by law. In 1848, therefore, when the colony first acquired the right to send a deputy to the French Parliament, natives born in the French settlements of
Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis, the only French soil in Senegal at [633]
the time, became entitled to the Parliamentary vote and to all the

641 other privileges of French citizenship. In due course the same
[633] status was conferred on natives of Dakar, and in 1916 French
citizenship was extended not only to natives born in these four
communes but to their descendants also. It thus came about that out
● [162] of 80,500 native citizens in the whole of French West Africa 78,000
live in Senegal or Dakar. Of these the great bulk resides in the four
old communes.

633 Municipal government, on entirely metropolitan lines, was
conferred upon St. Louis and Goree in 1872 and upon Rufisque in
1880. In 1887 Dakar, which had hitherto formed part of Goree, was
separated from it, receiving its own elected mayor and council, and
in 1929 absorbed its parent. The District of Dakar was separated
from Senegal in 1924, and received its own Administrator, directly
responsible to the Governor-General.

646 Parliamentary representation was suspended under Napoleon III,
but restored in 1870. Until 1914 a European had been elected, but
the racial issue was deliberately raised in that year, when M. Blaise
[645] Diagne, a Sérère, entered on his long term as Deputy for Senegal. He
thoroughly justified his race by heading a campaign for voluntary
recruitment in Senegal during the War of 1914–1918, and subsequently
held office as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.
As early as 1879 the General Council was elected by the citizens of
[633] the four communes. It had certain powers of taxation and legislation
over the four communes, powers which, though limited, were more
democratic than in other parts of French West Africa. Its greatest
influence, however, lay in the criticism of the Government, a
function which, withheld from it by law, sprang naturally from the
power of taxation. When the formal distinction between colony and
protectorate disappeared, the General Council gave place to the
existing Colonial Council (p. 432), a body with generally similar
powers extending over the whole colony.

648 *Senegal and Federation*. Before 1845 and again from 1859 to 1893
[643] the whole of what is now French West Africa was administered by
the Governor of Senegal. It was natural, therefore, that in 1895 he
should be appointed Governor-General of the Federation, with its
not very precise constitution. This appointment was welcomed in
Senegal, as it enhanced the colony's supremacy. In 1902 the Governor-Generalship
was made a separate office, and Senegal sank to the
level of the other colonies. This new arrangement, although a blow
to the pride of the Senegalese, did not touch their pockets. They still
[652] kept control of their own revenues, out of which they voted a sum

S 797 with which the Society of the Holy Spirit was united in 1848. About the same time a house of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (the Blue Sisters) was established at Dakar, which has been the Roman Catholic metropolis of French West Africa ever since.

In 1906, on the separation of Church and State in France, the
government subsidies to the Roman Catholic missions were with-
S drawn. In 1930 the Roman Catholics in Senegal had 67 European
[162] priests, sisters, and lay workers aided by 175 native catechists and
S teachers. Professing Roman Catholics numbered 22,300. A mag-
[368] nificent cathedral, the work of many years, was consecrated at Dakar
in 1936.

The only Protestant mission in Senegal is that of the Société des
S Missions Évangéliques de Paris, which began work in the colony in
[162] 1863. Its adherents number about a hundred.

8. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND INLAND TOWNS

Distribution of Population

S *Senegal*

161 Senegal is the third most densely populated colony, with an
average of 21·58 persons per square mile and a total population in
1937 of 1,666,374. The distribution, however, varies greatly within
the colony itself. The regions of Fouta and Ferlo are almost un-
inhabitable, while the provinces of Baol, Sine-Saloum, and Thiès have
more than 50 persons per square mile. The coastal provinces of
Bignona and Ziguinchor, south of the Gambia, are equally closely
S settled. The left bank of the Senegal, roughly from Bakel to Podor,
[311] supports a fairly dense agricultural population.

[361] Growth has been steady, the figures for 1921, 1926, and 1931 being
1,225,523, 1,318,287, and 1,584,273 respectively. There is no doubt
that the colony is capable of supporting many more inhabitants than
S it does at present.

162 *Natives.* More than 580,000 Ouolofs live in Senegal. These are
563 among the most energetic and intelligent peoples of the Federation,
W and they provide the bulk of the famous Senegalese Tirailleurs.
[162] There are about 250,000 each of Sérères, Mandingos, and Fulani,
[701] and 150,000 Toucouleur. Broadly speaking, the Ouolofs live north
and east of Dakar, the Sérères south-east thereof, the Toucouleur

near the Senegal river, the Fulani in the centre of the colony, and the 162
Mandingos in the east of it. [563]

The District of Dakar

The 66 square miles of the District of Dakar contain 126,929 persons; but the figures for density per square mile mean even less than elsewhere, since most of the inhabitants live in the town itself.

In 1937 there were 118,459 natives and 8,470 Europeans, of whom
6,728 were French. This was about a quarter of the total of Europeans [563]
in the whole Federation.

INLAND TOWNS

BAKEL (14° 52'; 12° 24' W.) Population, 2,103. Provincial head- 36
quarters. Medical post. Landing-ground. Regional School. [131]
Garage. Daily market. [162]

Bakel is on the left bank of the Senegal (Plate 83) where the
river passes between cliffs some 17 miles below the entrance of
the Falémé. It is a local market for gum, ground-nuts, grain, gold [438]
dust, hides, and ostrich feathers. Most of the inhabitants are Moslems. [162]

By river it is 531 miles from St. Louis and 84 miles from Kayes, [487]
and there is a fortnightly steamer service when the water permits. [505]
By colonial road Bakel is 386 miles from St. Louis, 93 miles from [491]
Matam, and 32 miles from Kidira. A bus service connects all these
places. The river can be crossed by ferry, and from the Mauritanian [494]
bank a poor track leads to Sélibaby (32 miles).

BAMBEY (14° 40'; 16° 25' W.). Altitude, 59 feet. Population, [131]
4,209. Mixed Commune. Dispensary. Police station. Meteoro- [162]
logical station. Landing-ground. Garage. Agricultural experi- [654]
mental station. Daily market.

Set in the midst of an area of dense population, Bambey is a
prosperous market town. The main product of the locality is [438]
ground-nuts, and large quantities of these are put on the train each
year. They also form the chief speciality of the agricultural experi- [654]
mental station.

Communications. By railway Bambey is 77 miles from Dakar,
33½ miles from Thiès, 17 miles from Diourbel, and 319 miles from
Kidira. It is on the intercolonial road, being 49 miles from Thiès [491]
and 16 miles from Diourbel. A colonial road goes almost due south
to Fatik (27 miles). There is a daily bus service (p. 473) to Fatik, [494]
Foundiougne, and Kaolack.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 **BIGNONA** (12° 49'; 16° 16' W.). Altitude, *c.* 60 feet. Population, 1,611.
[131] Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Military post. Emergency
[162] landing-ground. Garage.

Bignona stands on the left bank of a small and marshy tributary of
the Casamance. Canoes carry a certain amount of merchandise, as
[438] also do lorries. The principal items of trade are ground-nuts, palm
kernels, wax, rice, and fruit. Most of the native inhabitants are
[162] Dioulas.

Colonial roads lead south to the Casamance opposite Ziguinchor
[491] (16 miles), east to Sedhiou (58 miles) and Kolda (120 miles), and
north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia
(46 miles). There are also several minor roads and tracks.

[131] **DAGANA** (16° 27'; 15° 34' W.). Altitude, 13 feet. Population,
[162] *c.* 3,500. District headquarters. Medical post. Emergency
landing-ground. Regional School. Race-course.

[439] Dagana is on the left bank of the Senegal, and its chief economic
function is as a market for Mauritanian gum. This is shipped down
[487] river to St. Louis, 116 miles away. There is also connexion upstream
to Podor (61 miles), Bakel (403 miles), and Kayes (487 miles).

By colonial road Dagana is 86 miles from St. Louis and 332 miles
[491] from Kidira. It is on the bus service (p. 474) between these two
[494] places. Southwards another colonial road leads across sparsely
inhabited country to Dahra (89 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles).
From the opposite bank of the Senegal a track goes to Mederdra,
some 30 miles distant.

[131] **DIOURBEL** (14° 39'; 16° 10' W.). Altitude, 39 feet. Population,
[162] 15,442. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical
post. Police headquarters. Emergency landing-ground. Power
station. Hotel. Garage. Daily market.

This flourishing town lies across the little Sine river in the middle
of a well-cultivated shallow valley. To the north the ground rises
[438] somewhat. Diourbel owes its prosperity to ground-nuts, and
100,000 tons of them pass through the town every year. There are
[258] several factories for the shelling of the nuts and for the expression
of their oil. Besides this, Diourbel is the headquarters of the province
[162] of Baol and a route centre. Its inhabitants are mainly Moslems, who
[871] have a large and important mosque. There is also a special school for
sons of chiefs.

The electric power station has a gas-engine plant that burns the 36
residue from ground-nut presses. [377]

Communications. Diourbel is the railway junction for Routes 3 and [496]
4. By the former it is 50½ miles from Thiès and 302 miles from Kidira,
and by the latter it is 31 miles from Touba. The intercolonial road [491]
leads westwards to Thiès (65 miles) and Dakar (109 miles) and south-eastwards to Kaolack (40 miles), Tambacounda (230 miles), and Nayes (351 miles). Colonial roads go north-eastwards to Dahra (73 miles) and Dagana (162 miles) and south-westwards to Fatik (25 miles) and Kaolack (53 miles).

Louga (15° 37′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, 128 feet. Population, [131]
4,390. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical [162]
post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional
School. Power station. Garage. Race-course. Agricultural [654]
experimental station and farm school. Daily market.

Louga is the scene of the most important cattle market in the whole [438]
colony. It is this that has made it a route centre. Other local products
are ground-nuts, gum, and millet. Administratively, Louga is the headquarters of the province of the same name and also a military headquarters.

Electricity is supplied by an oil-driven plant. [377]

Communications. Louga stands at the junction of railway routes
1 and 2, being 119 miles from Dakar, 44 miles from St. Louis, and [496]
81 miles from Linguéré. It is on the intercolonial road from Dakar
(121 miles) to St. Louis (47 miles). A colonial road runs eastwards [491]
across the colony to Dahra (59 miles), Linguéré (84 miles), and Matam (242 miles). There are also minor roads and tracks.

Podor (16° 35′; 15° 02′ W.). Population, 3,168. Provincial head- [131]
quarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional [162]
School. Garage. Daily market.

This riverside town is chiefly important for gum arabic. The gum [439]
is brought by the Arabs, sold in the market, and shipped down the
Senegal to St. Louis.

Communications. By river Podor is 178 miles from St. Louis and
437 miles from Kayes. Throughout the year the Messageries [487]
Africaines run a fortnightly service to and from St. Louis. From [505]
July to January the boats also go upstream as far as Matam (234 miles)
and in August and September to Kayes. Podor is on the colonial road, [491]
being 135 miles from St. Louis and 288 miles from Nayes. There is a
ferry across the river to connect with tracks to such Mauritanian

36 towns as Boutilimit and Aleg. There is also a track that runs south-
[491] south-westwards to Yang-Yang. For half the year there is a bus
service twice a week to St. Louis in one direction and to Kidira in
[494] the other. 1 ∧

[131] **Tambacounda** (13° 45′; 13° 39′ W.). Altitude, 148 feet. Population,
c. 4,000. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police head-
[162] quarters. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Hotel. Garage.

On a slight eminence above a marshy tributary of the Sandougou,
[491] Tambacounda is of considerable importance as a route centre. It
[496] is not only a road junction but also the most southerly point in
Senegal of the Dakar–Niger railway. Near the town is a sisal
[248] plantation.

The hotel is open only from December to May.

[496] By rail Tambacounda is 285 miles from Dakar, 111 miles from
Kidira, and 170½ miles from Kayes. One intercolonial road runs
[491] westwards to Kaolack (188 miles), Thiès (295 miles), and Dakar
(339 miles); another north-eastwards to Nayes (121 miles) and
Kayes (176 miles); and a third southwards to Diabougou (25 miles)
and ultimately to Labé (288 miles). Before the war Tambacounda was
[509] connected to Dakar and Bamako by a weekly air service operated by
Air France.

[131] **Thiès** (14° 49′; 16° 52′ W.). Altitude, 207 feet. Population, 15,451.
[162] Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post.
Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School.
[797] Roman Catholic mission. Power station. Hotels. Garages.
Railway workshops. Cinemas. Daily market.

Since the opening of the railway in 1885 Thiès has grown from a
collection of native huts to a large town. The railway workshops
[498] employ many hundreds of men, and the market handles considerable
[438] quantities of ground-nuts. The town has been built on a slope that
declines gently east and north-east to a small stream. The old Fort
Faidherbe is still standing, and there is a big Roman Catholic church.

Communications. Thiès is a railway junction, being 43½ miles
[496] from Dakar, 119½ miles from St. Louis, and 352½ miles from Kidira.
It is also a meeting-place of intercolonial roads. One of these comes
[491] from Dakar (44 miles) and goes on to St. Louis (124 miles), while the
other branches east to Kaolack (107 miles), Nayes (416 miles), and
Kayes (471 miles). There are several minor roads, notably one going
[494] south to M'Bour. Along this road there is a regular bus service, with
two buses each weekday in either direction.

1 ∧ [From the Town of Podor--Analyst]

9. ADMINISTRATION

DAKAR, the capital of the Federation and the residence of the 633
Governor-General, is geographically in Senegal, and from its
foundation in 1863 it was administered by the Governor of Senegal
as part of that colony. By the decrees of 25 October and 27 November
1924, however, the District of Dakar was, without prejudice to its
municipal institutions, made a separate administrative unit, under an
Administrator directly responsible to the Governor-General. Only [648]
Dakar and Goree were originally included, with an area of 60 square
miles, but the Commune of Rufisque was added by a decree of
9 June 1937. The District now has a population of 127,000, and it [162]
has its own budget.

Senegal returns a deputy to the French Chamber of Deputies, 648
who is elected by French citizens (European or native) resident
in the colony and in Dakar. The deputy is *ex officio* Senegal's
representative on the Supreme Council of the French Colonial
Empire.

Councils

Executive Councils. The Executive Council of Senegal is composed 645
of the Governor, the Secretary-General, the Attorney-General, the
officer commanding the troops, one French citizen elected by the [648]
Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis, and one citizen and two subjects
nominated for two years by the Governor-General.

It is a purely advisory body, but the Governor is bound to consult it on such matters as the Colonial Budget, proposed changes in taxation, disposal of government property, and concessions. He may indeed, require its advice on any matter he chooses.

The Executive Council for the District of Dakar was at one time 633
composed of the Standing Committee of the Governor-General's [648]
Council together with the Administrator. This arrangement,
legalized in 1924, was changed by a decree of the 9 June 1937 which
gave Dakar its own Executive Council, composed of the Administrator,
Deputy-Administrator, the officer commanding the troops at
Dakar, the Attorney-General, one member of the Chamber of
Commerce appointed by that body, two municipal councillors of
Dakar and one of Rufisque appointed by their respective councils, [648]
and one French subject appointed by the Governor-General.

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

[797] The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36
[131]
[162]
[489]
[743]
[712]
[648]
[654]
[697]

St. Louis (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police headquarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

River. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not
505 flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all
[648] the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
[497] Sent by rail or road	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
[494] Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 **DAKAR** (14° 39'; 17° 25' W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000
[131] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the
[162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts.
[489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West
[712] Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian,
[648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro-
[654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations.
[508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station.
[697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops.
[498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens.
[654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South-
361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it
[433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39'; 17° 23' W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [162] [712] [175]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [938]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41'; 17° 12' W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [131] [162] [712]

[RUFISQUE]

439 Rufisque was the first port from which ground-nuts were exported, and to-day ground-nuts are still the main article of trade. In the first quarter of 1939 it exported 25,152 tons of them. On the north side 504 of Goree bay, Rufisque can only handle small ships. There is anchorage off shore in 3–7 fathoms, but from July to November heavy swell makes it almost unusable.

633 Since 1937 the town has been in the District of Dakar.

Jetties and Equipment. There are three jetties with alongside depths 504 of at least 9½ feet. Two of these are of iron, one being 603 feet long and 33 feet wide with an extension by a wharf 65 feet long and 52 feet wide. The third is of concrete and is 656 feet long. Decauville tracks connect these jetties to the railway. There is one 5-ton crane and one 2-ton, besides smaller ones. There are 4 tugs and 2 lighters.

Communications

496 *Rail.* By rail Rufisque is 17 miles from Dakar, 26½ miles from Thiès, 146 miles from St. Louis, and 268 miles from Tambacounda.

491 *Road.* The intercolonial road runs from Dakar (15 miles) through to Thiès (29 miles), where it divides. Eight miles beyond Rufisque a colonial road branches off it to go to M'Bour (38 miles), Joal (61 miles), and Fatik (101 miles). Another colonial road goes north-eastwards from the town to Sangalkan (6 miles) and Kayar (17 miles).

36 [131] [162] ● M'BOUR (14° 21'; 16° 57' W.). Population, *c.* 4,500, including 175 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. Police station.

The town of M'Bour stands at the head of a shallow cove which extends for a mile out to sea as a passage between two reefs. Inside [504] the cove the water is up to 4½ feet deep, and there is a wharf used by surf-boats. Ships anchor 2½ miles off shore, but heavy swell makes [439] conditions difficult from June to November. Ground-nuts and millet are exported.

[491] M'Bour is on the colonial road from Rufisque (38 miles) to Joal (23 miles) and Fatik (63 miles). Several minor roads lead inland, [494] notably one to Thiès, along which there is a bus service twice a day. For half the year there is also a service to Joal.

[131] [162] JOAL (14° 09'; 16° 51' W.). Population, *c.* 900. Custom-house. Roman Catholic mission.

[175] Joal was founded by the Norman Company in the middle of the seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1677 and by

[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide. 36 [175]

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970). [504] [439]

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week. [491] [494]

Foundiougne (14° 06'; 16° 29' W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. [131] [162]

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality. [504]

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications. [439] [433]

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet. [491] [494]

Fatik (14° 18'; 16° 27' W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. [131] [162]

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine. [505] [487]

Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts. [439]

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne. [491]

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

36 [131] [162] **Kaolack** (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Customhouse. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where [487] the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going [505] ships.

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent population only. [166] At the height of the ground-nut season there are an additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

Trade

During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of [439] ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading.

[258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of [504] over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

Communications

[498] *Rail.* Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

[KAOLACK]

(33 miles) and Medina (50 miles), and a third west to Foundiougne (32 miles). 36 [491]

Air. The airfield is 1 mile north-east of the town. [508]

Wireless. The wireless station is in the centre of the town. [206]

Shipping. Boats of the Messageries du Sénégal line call regularly, and the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet maintains a weekly service with Foundiougne, Bathurst, and Dakar. [505]

ZIGUINCHOR (12° 32′; 16° 21′ W.). Population, 6,070. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the Casamance Territory and of the Province of Ziguinchor. Custom-house. Magistrate's Court. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and maternity home. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Emergency landing-ground. Wireless station. Roman Catholic mission. Garages. Daily market. [131] [162] [743]

The first large piece of firm ground upstream from the mouth of the Casamance is nearly 42 miles from the sea, and it is here, on the left bank, that Ziguinchor stands. The depth of the river is 6 fathoms. Jetties have been built at right angles to the waterfront, partly to counteract silting, and ships drawing 15 feet can go alongside them. The quays have a total length of over 3,000 feet and the warehouses a total capacity of some 25,000 tons. There are no cranes, all goods being manhandled. [504]

There is a considerable variety of exports, including ground-nuts, fruit, rice, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton, tobacco, sisal, and hides, but imports are chiefly manufactured goods and building materials. In value of trade Ziguinchor comes between Foundiougne and Rufisque. [439]

Communications

Road. The river is crossed by a ferry, and a colonial road leads north to Bignona (16 miles) and then east to Sedhiou (74 miles) and Kolda (136 miles). Another one goes along the south bank of the Casamance, also to Kolda (130 miles). Minor roads lead south to the frontier of Portuguese Guinea and south-west to Oussouye and Diembering. [491]

Air. Seaplanes can alight in the river, and there is a weekly Aéromaritime service to Bathurst and Dakar. The landing-ground is 1½ miles south of the town. [509]

Wireless. The two wireless stations are housed in the same building. [206]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 **Sedhiou** (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial head-
[131] quarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional
[162] School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above
[487] Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels
[505] drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day,
it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are
[439] Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and
wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from
Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 The principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which
[439] is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge,
between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance.
Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the
ilmenite: zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential
value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower
Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65
per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near
Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other
[339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for
the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered
at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the
[315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 The Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-
nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though
more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory
provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for
ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native
262 population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

MS37
SINE-SALOUM
Serer FA32

/99 cont./

S 162 Population. As we have just seen in this brief historical account, the principal native races occupying the region are: the Sérère, the Socé or Mandingue, the Toucouleur, and the Peuhl.

The population is distributed as follows:

Ouoloff	105,000	inhabitants
Sérère	85,000	"
Mandingue or Socé	50,000	"
Peuhl	10,000	"
Foreigners and miscellaneous	15,000	"
Total	280,000	inhabitants

S [161] In 15 years, the population, which in 1913 numbered 180,000 natives, increased by more than a third. This result is due, not only to the birth rate, but also and above all to the immigrants from neighboring countries (Upper Gambia, Sudan, Guinea, Casamance), who are attracted by the economic development of the region.

S 771 SR [771] Religion. Fetishism is losing ground to the benefit of Islamism. This religion is predominant at present. Only the Sérère still preserves his ancestral customs, but he is attracted to the religion of Islam. Three Moslem sects are represented: the Tidjania, the Kadria, and the Murids.

S [795] Muridism, a new religious sect which has as prophet the venerated marabout, the late Serigne Bamba, has its great mosque at N'Diourbel in Baol.

/100/ The Moslem populations are the Ouoloff, the Toucouleur, and a part of the Socé.

SR [771] The fetishism of the Sérère is a naturistic cult.

SR 105 [611] The customs are derived from the matriarchy. It is a regime of castes. Paternal authority is preserved intact in the family, with, however, respect for the mother and certain prerogatives of the maternal line, notably in the matter of succession. The captive, formerly, was treated gently by his

/102 cont./

632

N'Gahaye.
N'Guer.
Pakalla-Mandack
N'Doukoumane (Kaffrine)
Koungheul.

The subdivision of Sine is divided into five cantons:

Diakhao-Maroutte.
Sanghaye-N'Gayokème.
Diohine.
Diouroup.
Dangana.

The subdivision of Bas-Saloum has three cantons:

Djilor.
Sokone.
Niombato.

162 The population is distributed as follows:

Subdivision of Kaolack	141,000	inhabitants
Subdivision of Sine.........	89,000	"
Subdivision of Bas-Saloum...	50,000	"
Total	280,000	

633 Mixed communes. Mixed communes have been created in certain important localities. There are four of them:

Kaolack.
Fatick.
Foundiougne.
Gossas.

633
162 /103/ The mixed commune of Kaolack has 700 Europeans and assimilated individuals /assimilés/ and 8,000 natives (20 years ago it had 50 Europeans and 600 natives).

That of Fatick has 2,000 natives and 120 Europeans. Those of Foundiougne and Gossas have 50 Europeans and 800 natives each.

633 The importance of Kaolack comes from the fact that it is the principal port of the Saloum, the terminal point of a branch of the major railroad from the Sudan, and the center of a region that is a great producer of groundnuts.

There is a chamber of commerce, a court of the first

/104 cont./

743 **Medical aid.** Medical aid and the struggle against epidemics are assured by the dispensaries set up at Kaolack and Fatick, each directed by a European doctor.

[759] The latter have under their orders native doctors and midwives residing in the chief town or distributed at the medical posts.

[652] The commune of Kaolack also has a municipal dispensary under the direction of a European doctor who is paid out of the funds of the communal budget.

744 Urban hygienic services likewise exist in the principal agglomerations of the circle, especially at Kaolack, Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, and Kaffrine.

Anti-variolic vaccination is practiced in even the smallest villages.

III. Economic Development

162 **Labor force.** The population of the circle is 28,000 natives and 1,300 Europeans and assimilated individuals.

161 The population density is thus 10.8 inhabitants per square kilometer, a proportion higher than the average for the whole of French West Africa, which does not amount to three inhabitants per square kilometer.

464 An employment office operates in the circle.

This does not prevent /Pl. 1 appears here/ /105/ serious difficulties in the recruitment of the labor force. The latter is unstable and inexperienced. Wages are not high at all, especially in the cities. 465

At the time of the loading of the ships in the port of Kaolack, the wages of the workers sometimes climb to 15 and 20 francs per day. They are set on the average at 12 francs.

In some European operations, as at Latmingué, the agricultural workers have a daily wage of eight francs and in addition receive a ration of rice.

18:Rousseau--7 E-5 (no date) 1933 MS30 Wolof MS30
Fulani MS 11
Senegal MS37

F [91 cont.]
342 interior, according to some occupants, from [92] the wind, and, according to others, from prying eyes; the second explanation seems more likely to us, except perhaps in exceptional situations. The Peuhl is very superstitious, and, above all, we have not noted any systematic orientation with respect to such and such a wind. These Peuhl cabins are made of a light framework of branches, on which are put some mats or some grass fastened by bindings of plant material.

III. The Characteristics of the Rural Ouolof Habitat

W 621 S 162 W [127] Does the Ouolof village represent a concentrated or dispersed form of habitat? The only statistics that we have been able to establish are based on the tax rolls. Although these rolls sometimes separate the places inhabited by the Laobé and the Peuhl from the Ouolof keurs, they make no distinction between the different agglomerations of the same village occupied by one and the same population. These statistics permit one to calculate the average number of inhabitants per administrative village, apart from those who are considered of different race. Subtracting the agglomerations that must be considered urban, Senegal contains 8,266 villages with a total population of 1,297,424 inhabitants; the average is 157.

These same tax rolls permit us to be precise in that they sometimes characterize the villages by the race that inhabits them; we have been able to note there 64 Ouolof villages, with a total of 6,049 inhabitants, an average of 95 inhabitants per village. Some other reliable documents, the village fiches (1), give for 81 villages an average of 111 inhabitants. These

---

W [127] 1. We were able to consult them thanks to the kindness of the head of the Service Géographique de l'A. O. F. [French West Africa].

W [92 cont.]

621 numbers suggest that the Ouolof villages have fewer inhabitants
5 than the average in Senegal and, consequently, represent a
162 relatively dispersed element. Granting an average of three or four *keurs* per village, these agglomerations barely muster a few dozen inhabitants. Thus it can be said that the rural habitat in Ouolof country is characterized by a scattering of little agglomerations united in loose groupings of three or four. In the south of the circle [*cercle*, an administrative unit] of Sine-Saloum, however, the average number of inhabitants per village reaches 195.

W
361 In fact, the geographical conditions are such that one can distinguish regional varieties in this type of habitat, and it is interesting to compare, for example, Cayor and Saloum.

W
[312] *The rural Ouolof habitat in Cayor*. Cayor (and Djoloff) is sandy country, with little water, where millet is the basic foodstuff; nothing opposes the dispersal of the inhabitants except the lack of water, which is scarce. Millet, however, is a food that fills more than it nourishes; it can provide for the consumption of many inhabitants only if it is cultivated over great areas, and the little that we have said about the arrangement and the extent of the fields in relation to the habitations shows that an augmentation of the area cultivated could be made only by a multiplication of the *keurs*, that is, by an ever greater dispersion of the elementary groupings. When all the bush easily cleared has been put under cultivation, the number of inhabitants cannot

W
increase further, except by finding [93] other food resources or
[146] by being undernourished. It is known that the Blacks of Cayor are undernourished, and one proof of this is the recrudescence
[164] of the plague when the harvests are gathered [*la soudure des*
[161] *récoltes*]. Thus, with a density of 20 to 40 inhabitants per square
[166] kilometer, three to seven times the average for Senegal, it is an overpopulated country in relation to its food-producing capacity,
[731] and the sole remedy available to the Blacks is migration, that is, an ever greater dispersal. The plague itself is helping to drive them to it; since the Blacks perceived some years ago that the scourge was circumscribed by their moving their compounds away